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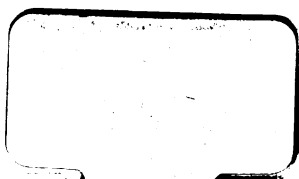
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MEMOIRS  
OF THE  
KINGS OF GREAT BRITAIN  
OF THE HOUSE OF  
*BRUNSWIC-LUNENBURG.*

BY W. BELSHAM.

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VOL. I.

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*Ac mihi quidem videntur huc omnia esse referenda ab iis qui præsumunt  
aliis, ut ii qui eorum in imperio erunt, sint quàm beatissimi. CICERO.*

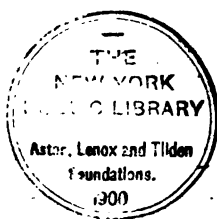
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# INTRODUCTION.

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**A**T the æra of the Revolution, the grand fabric of liberty, which it had been the labour of ages to erect in this island, was at length completed; and in one of the principal nations of the earth, a system of Government was by general assent established, which had for its basis the unalienable rights of man, and professing as its grand end and object, the happiness of the people. The design of the following Memoirs is to show, by an impartial delineation of the interesting events of the succeeding reigns, how far this end has been kept in view, how far it has been deviated from, and in what respects the general system of freedom is still susceptible of enlargement and security. In consequence of the happy emancipation of these realms, by the expulsion of a wretched and merciless bigot, we were necessarily involved in a war with France, then in the zenith of prosperity, and governed by a monarch of the most aspiring ambition, supported by a degree of power truly formidable. After a long and bloody conflict, however, France was compelled to relin-

quish her projects in favor of the abdicated House of Stuart; and to acknowledge, by a formal and solemn treaty, WILLIAM Prince of Orange as King of Great Britain. From this period, a new scene opens to our view; and England, confirmed and established in the possession of her own liberty, appears in the high and exalted character of the Defender of the Liberties of Europe. And it is chiefly through the efforts of this country, in which the sacred flame of freedom was happily preserved, that Europe was able to withstand, and at length effectually to baffle and defeat, the vast hopes and projects of LOUIS XIV.; who seemed to extend his views to no less than universal dominion. Scarcely was the treaty of Ryfwick signed\*, when intrigues and negotiations were revived and prosecuted by all the European Courts, with unintermitted and almost unprecedented ardour and activity. The declining health of the King of Spain, was the cause of this mighty internal agitation; at whose decease it became a matter of great and anxious doubt, upon whom the succession of that vast Monarchy would devolve. The two most potent claimants were, the Emperor Leopold as head and heir-general of the House of Austria, and the Dauphin of France, who was descended from Isabella eldest daughter of Philip IV. whose marriage, however, was accompanied by a formal renunciation of her eventual pretensions to the

\* A. D. 1697.

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Spanish Crown, which would otherwise, according to the rules of succession established in Spain, have indubitably superseded all other claims. The grand object of the ambition, both of the King and Kingdom of Spain, was to secure, and to which of all the different claimants was apparently a very subordinate consideration, the entire and undivided devolution of the Spanish monarchy; which included not only Spain and the Indies, but the two Sicilies, Milan, Sardinia, and the Low Countries; and which had long been in a state of extreme political debility, bending, as it were, beneath the pressure of its own enormous weight.

King William, however, who had no other end in view than to maintain the balance of power, and to preserve the general tranquillity of Europe, paid little attention to national prejudices originating in pride and folly, or even, as it must be acknowledged, to national rights and privileges, in the measures which he scrupled not to adopt, for the accomplishment of purposes so desirable and important. He concluded, therefore, with Louis, a secret Treaty of Partition, by which, at the decease of the King of Spain, the two Sicilies, and all the possessions of Spain eastward of the Pyrenées, were to be for ever united to the French monarchy; the Dutchy of Milan was allotted to the Emperor; and it was agreed, that the Kingdom of Spain, and its remaining appendages, should revert to the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, who was descended from

the second daughter of Philip IV. father of the reigning Monarch. This plan, however, being rendered abortive by the death of the young Prince, another treaty was concerted without the knowledge or participation of the Court of Madrid, by which, in addition to her former allotment, France obtained the important Dutchies of Lorraine and Bar, the Dutchy of Milan being ceded to the Duke of Lorraine by way of equivalent; and the Arch-duke, Charles II. son to the Emperor, was substituted as heir to the Monarchy of Spain, in the room of the Electoral Prince. The King of Spain, from whom this treaty could not long remain concealed, exasperated at the conduct of King William, and softened by the attentive and adulatory court paid to him by Louis, who dexterously contrived to throw the whole odium of this transaction upon the King of England, was at length prevailed upon, notwithstanding his former predilection for the Emperor, to make a will, by which he nominated as his sole heir, the Duke of Anjou, second son to the Dauphin; who, supported by the power of France, would, as the Catholic King was incessantly and flatteringly told, be able to prevent what he so much dreaded, the dismemberment of the Spanish monarchy.

The death of that Monarch taking place after a short interval, the Court of Versailles declared its determination of accepting the will, notwithstanding

standing the formal renunciation of the Infanta Isabella, and the actual existence of the Treaty of Partition; alleging, “that as the object of that treaty was the preservation of the general tranquillity, and that object could not, in present circumstances, be obtained by a strict adherence to this engagement, a departure from the letter of the treaty was clearly justifiable, if it arose solely from a desire of acting in more perfect conformity to the spirit of it.”

At the meeting of Parliament, in which the Tory interest now predominated, the partition treaty was reprobated without any reserve, as a measure unjust in its origin, and disgraceful in its issue. It was styled, in the vehemence of debate, “a felonious treaty;” and so high did the resentment and indignation of the Commons arise, that the Lords Somers, Halifax, Orford, and Portland, were actually impeached at the Bar of the House of Peers, as the principal advisers and promoters of this treaty, which was in reality the sole project of the King himself, whose conduct, on this occasion, notwithstanding the rectitude of his motives, must be acknowledged not easily reconcileable to the dictates either of justice or policy.

The Nation in general, however, entertained the most alarming apprehensions at this vast and unexpected addition to the power of the House of Bourbon; and their fears and jealousies were

kindled into rage by the impolitic conduct of Louis, who, on the death of King James, which happened about this time, formally recognized the pretended Prince of Wales as true and lawful Sovereign of Great-Britain. The King, encouraged by the prevailing disposition of the Nation, entered into an alliance with the Emperor and the United Provinces, in which all Kings, Princes and States were invited to join, in order to obtain satisfaction for the House of Austria, and ample and permanent security for the preservation of the common liberties of Europe. The Parliament being dissolved, another was summoned to meet in December 1701, in which the Whigs again recovered their ascendancy; and the royal speech at the opening of the Session, recommending, in very animated and energetic language, unanimity in the prosecution of the most vigorous and decisive measures, was received with enthusiastic and unbounded applause. "I promise myself," said the King, "you are met together full of that just sense of the common danger of Europe, and that resentment of the late proceedings of the French King, which has been so fully and universally expressed in the loyal and reasonable addresses of my people. The eyes of all Europe are upon this Parliament. All matters are at a stand, till your resolutions are known. Let me conjure you to disappoint the only hopes of  
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our enemies by your unanimity. I have shewn, and will always shew, how desirous I am to be the common father of all my people. Do you, in like manner, lay aside parties and divisions. Let there be no other distinction heard of among us for the future, but of those who are for the Protestant Religion and the present Establishment, and of those who mean a Popish Prince and a French Government.—If you do in good earnest desire to see England hold the balance of Europe, and to be indeed at the head of the Protestant Interest, it will appear by your right improving the present opportunity.” The King, the Parliament, and the Nation, seemed now animated with the same spirit, and in no period of his reign had William attained to so great a height of popularity as at the present crisis; and all Europe, fixing their attention upon this Monarch, and regarding him with grateful and affectionate veneration, as the great assertor of its liberties—as the head, heart, and hand of the confederacy—was eager with the expectation of seeing him once more in the field, leading on to battle the armies of that grand alliance, originally projected by him, and now revived with fresh spirit and vigour; and which, in the present exhausted state of France, it was presumed, could scarcely fail to be attended with the most signal and glorious success. The King, however,

perceived his health and strength rapidly declining; and he declared to the Earl of Portland, that he should not live to see another summer. On the 21st of February, in riding to Hampton-Court from Kensington, his horse fell under him, and his collar-bone was fractured by the violence of the shock. Though no immediate symptoms of danger appeared, this accident hastened his dissolution, which took place *March 8, 1702*, in the 52d year of his age. The recital of the actions of this Monarch forms his best and highest eulogium. His character was distinguished by virtues rarely found amongst princes—moderation, integrity, simplicity, beneficence, magnanimity. Time, which has cast a veil over his imperfections, has added lustre to his many great and admirable qualities. His political views were in the highest degree laudable and upright. He had true ideas of the nature and ends of Government: And the beneficial effects of his noble and heroic exertions, will probably descend to the latest generations; rendering his name justly dear to the friends of civil and religious liberty, and his memory ever glorious and immortal.

Never did the death of any monarch, that of Gustavus Adolphus in the midst of his career of victories against the House of Austria perhaps excepted, excite throughout the kingdoms of Europe, more general grief and consternation, than that of  
King



**King WILLIAM.** Though the grand alliance against France was now completed, the different powers, of which this vast body was composed, deprived by this unexpected stroke of the Hero in whose wisdom and rectitude they confided, and under whose banners they had been accustomed to engage, no longer exhibited any symptoms of animation or vigour. Such was the prevailing dread of the power of France; which, from the commencement of the administration of Cardinal Richelieu, had been elevated to the present alarming height, by an almost uninterrupted series of military triumphs; that the alliance now formed was considered as by no means adequate to the accomplishment of its object in case of the defection of England; and how far Anne of Denmark, who now swayed the sceptre of that powerful kingdom, was disposed to adopt the counsels, or to pursue the mighty projects formed by her illustrious predecessor, was considered as a question highly problematical. The doubt, however, was quickly resolved; for the Queen, who was laudably ambitious of popularity, finding the nation and parliament strongly inclined to war, and influenced by the representations of the Earls of Marlborough and Godolphin, who demonstrated the imminent danger to which the liberties of Europe would be exposed, were England to act with indifference or indecision in the present crisis, declared her resolution

lution to fulfil, in their utmost extent, all the political engagements of the late King. To give efficacy to this resolution, the Earl of Godolphin was placed at the head of the treasury, and the Earl of Marlborough advanced to the rank of Captain-General of all her Majesty's forces, to the extreme satisfaction of the Allies, who had, from his past services, already formed very high ideas of his military talents. This Nobleman was also invested with the character of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary from her Majesty; and sent into Holland, in order to concert measures with the States, and to assure them, as well as the other Powers of the Alliance, whose ambassadors were assembled at the Hague, of the Queen's favourable sentiments and zealous attachment to the common cause and interest. In pursuance of the spirited exertions of this able negotiator, war was declared against France on the very same day at Vienna, London, and the Hague, to the surprise and chagrin of the court of Versailles, which had entertained the flattering hope that the projects of the Allies would be entirely disconcerted by the death of the King of England, and had received the intelligence of that event with the most indecent marks of exultation. The war commenced with the sieges of Keiserwart and Landau, both which fortresses surrendered to the arms of the Allies, after a very long and vigorous resistance. The Earl of Marlborough arriving at the camp in June, immediately

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ately took upon him the command of the allied army: The Earl of Athlone, who had pretensions in quality of Veldt-Mareschal of the Dutch forces, to divide the command, and whose military fame was not inconsiderable, being obliged by the States to relinquish his claim, The French army under Marechal Boufflers, precipitately retiring before the Allies, the Earl of Marlborough successively invested and captured the towns of Venlo, Ruremond, Stevenswart, and Liege; and by the judgment and skill with which he conducted all his measures, confirmed the confidence of the public, and fully established his reputation, as an able and enterprizing General. Very splendid success also attended the naval operations of the present summer: For though the Duke of Ormond and Sir George Rooke failed in their attempt on Cadiz, they received intelligence, on their return to England, that the Spanish Flota had put into the port of Vigo; and attacking that place with resistless intrepidity, broke the immense boom which extended across the entrance of the harbour, reduced the forts by which it was defended, and destroyed or captured the whole fleet of men of war and galleons which had retreated thither for security.

When the new Parliament met, an address was presented to the Queen by the Commons, congratulating the success of her Majesty's arms, which had, as they chose to express it, signally re-

*trieved* the ancient honour and glory of the English nation. This was universally understood as an oblique reflection upon the memory of the late King; and it strongly indicated the predominance of the Tories, who were now the favoured and governing party. Of this, however, a much more important and decisive proof was afforded, by the introduction of a bill against Occasional Conformity—a practice by which the Church was declared to be exposed to the most imminent danger. This bill, which was carried through the House of Commons by a prodigious majority, was, after long and vehement debate, thrown out by the Lords.

Early in the spring, A. D. 1703, the Earl, now Duke of Marlborough, passed the sea, and, at the head of the Allies, opened the campaign with the siege of Bonne; after the reduction of which, he marched towards the French army commanded by Marechal Villeroy, with an intention to give them battle: But at his approach, that General thought proper to retire within his lines, after setting fire to his camp; and the Duke was obliged to satisfy himself with the conquest of the towns of Huy, Limburg, and Gueldres. In the course of this year, the King of Prussia and Duke of Savoy joined the grand alliance; and the Arch-duke Charles, second son to the Emperor, who now assumed the title of King of Spain, was convoyed to

to Lisbon by an English squadron, as the claimant of a kingdom in which he did not as yet possess a single foot of land.

In the ensuing Session of Parliament, the Occasional Conformity Bill was again revived by the High-Church faction; the most violent partizans of which attempted, though in vain, to secure the success of it, by annexing it as a tack to the Land-tax Bill. This was absolutely discountenanced by the Ministers of the Crown, and the bill itself but faintly supported by the Court party, the great leaders of which, Godolphin and Marlborough, now began, from political motives, to connect themselves with the Whigs: And though the bill passed by a majority of fifty voices, it was again rejected by the Lords, who would not even deign to give it a second reading. This Parliament is distinguished in the English annals by the perpetual misunderstandings which prevailed between the two Houses; and this winter a very remarkable dispute arose, which originated in an accidental and apparently inconsiderable cause. The shameless and scandalous manner in which the Commons were wont to decide upon all petitions relative to contested elections in favour of the predominant party, was at this time perhaps more than usually notorious: And the returning officers, who happened to be in that interest, were emboldened by it to exercise  
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the grossest partiality in admitting or rejecting votes, knowing it might be done with perfect ease and impunity. At the last general election, however, the vote of one Ashby, an inhabitant of the borough of Aylesbury, being rejected by White the returning officer, he had the spirit and resolution to commence an action at common law against White, for illegally depriving him of his franchise; and obtained a verdict for damages, at the ensuing assizes for the county of Bucks. The Court of Queen's Bench, however, being moved to quash all proceedings in this matter, as contrary to the privileges of the House of Commons, the three puisne Judges were of opinion, that the verdict could not be sustained. But that great and upright Magistrate, Lord-Chief-Justice Holt, at this time presiding in the Court, declared in the most decisive terms, "that the verdict in question was both legal and just;—that though the House of Commons possessed a separate and independent jurisdiction, agreeably to the constitution of Parliament, so far as to determine, in case of appeal, which of the different candidates were duly elected; yet that their authority did not supersede the common course of judicial proceedings in the Courts sitting at Westminster, which founded their decisions on the known laws of the land, and the evidence which came regularly and properly before them; and which neither could,

nor

nor would take cognizance of the proceedings of the House of Commons, nor of the grounds of their proceedings. Where a legal right existed, and such, said this able Magistrate, is the franchise of an elector; the Law, of which the Courts of Justice are the sole dispensers, will protect him in the enjoyment of that right.—That the House of Commons were not competent to decide judicially, though they might be occasionally compelled to exercise their discretion in cases of this nature, evidently appeared from their utter inability to grant redress, whatever might be the magnitude of the injury sustained:—that if this exorbitant claim were once established, the subject might be deprived of his dearest rights, by the mere arbitrary will and pleasure of the House of Commons—the most flagrant abuses of power might be committed with impunity, nay with applause and triumph, by men holding public offices, who were thus placed beyond the reach of the arm of public justice; and by a monstrous solecism in legislation and jurisprudence, an acknowledged and invaluable right might be grossly and openly violated, and the injured party remain wholly destitute of any legal or regular means of reparation or redress.” The verdict, notwithstanding these cogent reasonings, was however reversed; but the cause was, by writ of error, immediately brought before the House of Lords; who, after requiring the  
opinions

opinions of the twelve judges, and debating the matter at great length, and with great ability, determined almost unanimously to supersede the judgment pronounced in the Queen's Bench, and to affirm the verdict originally given at the County Assizes. The House of Commons, enraged at these proceedings, declared by a vote of the House, "that Matthew Ashby having, in contempt of the jurisdiction of that House, commenced and prosecuted an action at common law against William White for not receiving his vote at an election for Burgesses to serve in Parliament for the borough of Aylesbury, was guilty of a high breach of the privileges of that House; and that all attornies, solicitors, counsellors, and sergeants-at-law, soliciting, prosecuting, or pleading in any such cause, were guilty of a high breach of the privileges of that House." And they ordered these resolutions, signed by the clerk of the House, to be affixed to Westminster-Hall gate. So far, however, was the intrepid Magistrate at the head of the Law from being intimidated by this imperious language, that he is said publicly to have declared, that if any messenger of the House of Commons presumed to enter that Hall, in order to seize the person of any attorney or pleader by virtue of this warrant, he would immediately commit him to Newgate. The House of Lords, on their part, passed votes justificatory of their own conduct; copies of which were trans-



transmitted to all sheriffs and borough-reeves throughout the kingdom. The Commons, finding the general voice of the people declare strongly in favour of their antagonists, seemed disposed to let it rest in its present state, and the judgment of the Lords was duly and regularly executed; upon which, five other inhabitants of the borough of Aylesbury brought their several actions for damages, upon the same grounds. This threw the House of Commons into a new ferment; and by their own authority, they committed these five men to prison, where they lay three months, without however offering to make any submission. After the money bills were passed by the Commons, and not till then, a motion being made in the Queen's Bench in behalf of the prisoners, for a *habeas corpus*; the three puisne Judges declared themselves of opinion, as before, that the Court could take no cognizance of the matter. But the Chief-Justice, a man inflexible to ill, and obstinately just, maintained, that a general warrant of commitment for breach of privilege was of the nature of an execution: And as it appeared upon the face of the warrant itself, that the prisoners had been guilty of no legal offence, unless to claim the benefit of the law in opposition to a vote of the House of Commons was such, it was his opinion that they ought to be instantly discharged. This opinion, however, not availing in opposition to that

of the majority of the Bench, the prisoners were remanded; in consequence of which, they moved for a writ of error, to bring the matter before the Lords. As this, agreeably to the forms of law, could only be obtained by petition to the Crown, the Commons presented an address to the Queen, humbly requesting her Majesty that the writ of error might not be granted; and they also took upon them to affirm, that, in this case, no writ of error could lie. To this address, the Queen, with great moderation and prudence, replied, that she hoped never to give her faithful Commons any just ground of complaint; but to obstruct the course of judicial proceedings, was a matter of such high importance, that she thought it necessary to weigh and consider carefully what it might be proper for her to do. The Commons received this answer in fullen silence; and immediately ordered the prisoners to be removed from Newgate, into the custody of their serjeant at arms, lest they should be discharged in consequence of the Queen's granting a writ of error. They likewise resolved, that the Lawyers who had pleaded on behalf of the prisoners, on the return of the *habeas corpus*, were guilty of a breach of privilege; and ordered them to be taken into custody. The Lords, upon this, voted, "that, for subjects to claim their just rights in a course of law, was no breach of privilege—that the imprisonment of the men of Aylesbury

was

was contrary to law—and that the writ of error could not be refused, without a violation of *MAGNA CHARTA*.” This was followed by an address to the Queen, humbly beseeching her Majesty to give immediate orders for issuing the writ of error. The Judges, moreover, now happily recovering from their terrors, ventured to decide, that a petition for a writ of error was a petition of right, and not of grace. And the Queen was pleased, in the most condescending terms, to reply to this address, “ that she would certainly have complied with their Lordships’ request in regard to the writ of error, but that, as it now became necessary to put an end to the Session, she knew it could produce no effect.” The Lords, considering this as a decided victory, immediately returned their humble thanks to her Majesty, for this instance of her Majesty’s regard for the legal and impartial administration of public justice. The Queen, that very day, March 14, put an end to the Session; and on the 5th April 1705, the Parliament was dissolved by proclamation. “ It was no small blessing,” says Bishop Burnet, with his accustomed solemnity, “ to the Queen, and to the nation, that they got well out of such hands.” And it must indeed be acknowledged, that the violence and malignity manifested in their general conduct, were productive of much less evil than might reasonably be apprehended.

As in order to exhibit a connected view of this memorable controversy, the order of events has been somewhat anticipated; it is now necessary to advert to various preceding transactions of great moment and importance. Though it must be allowed, that nothing can be more uninteresting, or uninstruative in general, than the detail of military operations; yet, as the campaign of the year 1704 is one of the most remarkable in modern history, and displays the unrivalled talents of the Duke of Marlborough in the most brilliant and striking point of view, it cannot but excite such emotions of curiosity as demand more than ordinary attention. In the month of January, Count Wrattislaw, the Imperial Ambassador, presented a memorial to the British Court, in which he represented the alarming and dangerous situation to which the Emperor and the Empire were reduced, in consequence of the rapid success of the French arms in Germany, and the defection of the Elector of Bavaria, who had entered into a strict confederacy with France; had joined the armies of that monarchy with all his forces; had seized the cities of Augsbourg, Ulm, and Passau, and threatened to attack even the Imperial capital of Vienna itself. The Emperor, therefore, implored the aid and protection of the Queen and People of ENGLAND, to save the ROMAN EMPIRE from impending ruin. This application, so glorious

ous to the English nation, was not made in vain. The Duke of Marlborough received orders from the Queen, to concert with the States the most eligible means of accomplishing this great object. On his arrival at the Hague, he represented to their High Mightinesses, the necessity of making a powerful effort for the relief of the Empire; and proposed, that as the frontiers of Holland were now perfectly secure, he should be permitted to march with the grand confederate army to the banks of the Moselle, there to fix the seat of the war. And as the French Court would, in consequence of this diversion, be led to entertain serious apprehensions for the safety of their own territories, they would be compelled to desist from any farther prosecution of their vast and ambitious projects in Germany. Under this veil did that great Commander conceal his real design, which he communicated only to the pensionary Heinsius; and two or three other leading persons, whose influence might obtain a sanction to the measure, whenever a public avowal of it should be deemed necessary. The consent of the States being with some difficulty procured, and the campaign at length opened, the proposed march to the Moselle accordingly took place. Marechal Tallard, who commanded the French army, apprehending Traerbach to be in danger, and that the Duke's intentions were to penetrate into France on that

side, took no steps to obstruct his Grace's farther progress to the East. To the amazement, however, not only of the French General, to whom the Duke's movements were wholly incomprehensible, but of all Europe, whose attention was now fixed on this interesting scene, the allied army passed the Rhine May 26, and in a few days after, the Maine and the Neckar. On his arrival at Ladenburg, June 3, the Duke thought proper to throw off the masque; and he wrote from thence a letter to the States, acquainting their High Mightinesses, that he had received orders from his Sovereign, the Queen of England, to adopt the most vigorous measures to deliver the Empire from the oppression of France—that, for this purpose, he was proceeding on his march to the Danube, and he hoped their High Mightinesses would not hesitate to allow their troops to share in the glory of this enterprise. The States, finding it impracticable to recede, thought it advisable to comply with a good grace, and immediately dispatched a courier to inform the Duke that his design met with their unanimous approbation—that they entrusted their troops entirely to his disposal, placing the most perfect reliance on his Grace's skill, experience, and discretion. This difficulty being thus happily surmounted, the Duke proceeded on his expedition; and at Mil-denheim he had an interview with Prince Eugene,  
in

in which these two consummate Generals agreed upon their future plan of operations. The Prince expressing his admiration of the fine appearance of the troops after so long and fatiguing a march, and particularly of the uncommon spirit apparent in their countenances, the Duke of Marlborough politely replied, that this might be easily accounted for, by the animation which the presence of his Highness could never fail to excite. On the first of July, the Duke, being previously joined by the Imperial army, came in sight of the lines of Schellenburg, in which the flower of the Bavarian troops lay strongly entrenched, near the town of Donavert, situated on the banks of the Danube. Early the next morning, his Grace resolved upon the attack; and after a very gallant resistance, the lines were forced with great slaughter, and Donavert immediately surrendered at discretion. But this success, though brilliant, was lost in the splendour of the subsequent victory. The Elector of Bavaria obstinately refusing to listen to terms of accommodation, and being at length joined by Marechal Tallard, who had with great danger and difficulty traversed the immense forests of Suabia with a view to his relief; it was resolved by the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, August 13, to engage the combined army of French and Bavarians, then posted near the village of BLEINHEIM, a name ever memorable in

the annals of British and Gallic history. The enemy were very advantageously encamped on a rising ground. Their right flank was covered by the Danube, and the village of Bleinheim, into which the Marechal had thrown a great body of his best troops : Their left wing, commanded by Marechal Marfin, and the Elector in person, was protected by the village of Lutzingen, and the adjoining woods; and they had, in front of the camp, a rivulet, whose banks were steep, and the bottom marshy. It being determined that the Duke of Marlborough should command the attack against Marechal Tallard; about noon, the left wing of the allied army passed the rivulet without molestation, and drew up in order of battle on the other side. So unaccountably supine were the French commanders on this occasion, that they suffered even the second line of cavalry to form, without descending from the heights, of which they were in possession, into the meadows which occupied the interval between the camp and the rivulet. The allies now ascending the hill in a firm compacted body, the enemy advanced with great spirit and resolution, and a furious and bloody contest ensued. The French at length giving way on all sides, Marechal Tallard made an effort to gain the bridge thrown over the Danube between Bleinheim and Hochsted; but being closely pursued, vast numbers were either killed

or



or forced into the river, and the Marechal himself was made a prisoner. The troops inclosed in the village of Bleinheim being now left destitute of support, were obliged to surrender at discretion. On the right, where Prince Eugene commanded, though the success was not so decisive, the Elector, and Marechal Marfin, were compelled, after a severe conflict, to retreat in confusion, and with very great loss; and, upon the whole, this was one of the most complete and important victories ever gained. The French force in Germany was in effect annihilated. Exclusive of the prodigious carnage during the heat of the action, seventy entire squadrons and battalions were either captured at Bleinheim, or drowned in the Danube; and the shattered remains of their army, after the loss of forty thousand veteran troops, were utterly incapable of making head against the victors. This day entirely changed the aspect of affairs in Europe. France was no longer formidable. After her long succession of triumphs, she now experienced a fatal and sudden reverse of fortune, by which she was overwhelmed with amazement and consternation. Nor has she ever been able to regain that high ascendancy in the scale of power which she possessed previously to that great event. The Elector of Bavaria, at the head of a small body of troops, effected a retreat, or rather made his escape, and joined Marechal Villeroy in Flanders,

Flanders, leaving the Electorate at the mercy of the conquerors, who, after reducing Ingoldstadt, and the other fortresses of the Dutchy, gloriously concluded the campaign with the sieges of Landau, Triers, and Traerbach. And in the month of December, the Duke of Marlborough returned in triumph to England, where he was received with unbounded transports of joy. During the course of the present summer, Admiral Sir George Rooke, by a very brilliant coup-de-main, surprised the fortress of Gibraltar, which, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of the Spaniards, still remains in the possession of the English. It is, however, a most expensive, invidious, and useless conquest; and while it is, by an ungenerous and pernicious policy, detained from the rightful owners, it is scarcely possible that a cordial and sincere friendship can long subsist between the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Spain.

In April 1705, the Duke of Marlborough again passed into Holland. He had now formed a real intention to execute the project, respecting which the French were so needlessly apprehensive the preceding year—to penetrate into France on the side of the Moselle. For which purpose, he passed that river in the beginning of June, expecting a powerful co-operation from Prince Louis of Baden, who commanded the Imperial army on the Rhine. But that General, who was universally believed to

to regard the Duke of Marlborough with malignant and envious eyes, failing in every part of his engagements, his Grace was compelled to retreat with some precipitation into Flanders, where Marechal Villeroy had taken advantage of the Duke's absence, to capture the town of Huy, and to invest the city of Liege. The Duke, however, not only raised the siege of that city, and recaptured Huy, but obliged the French General to retire within his lines, which he immediately attacked with his wonted success; but the Marechal retreating to the strong camp of Parcke, near Louvaine, no farther impression could be made on that frontier during the remainder of this campaign. On the 5th May died the Emperor Leopold, who had experienced, during his long reign, very wonderful and frequent vicissitudes of fortune. He was succeeded by his son, Joseph, King of the Romans. If, from the disappointments sustained by the allies during this summer, the French Court derived any hope of recovering their former superiority, the ensuing campaign proved them to be wholly fallacious. For the English General assembling the confederate forces early in the spring of 1706, marched against the French army, commanded by the Marechals Villeroy and Marfin, and the Elector of Bavaria, who had received orders from the French Court to risque a general engagement; and on Whitsunday, the two armies joined battle near  
the

the village of Ramilies. M. Villeroy, the French Commander in Chief, is said to have made a most injudicious disposition; and the troops, who placed little confidence in his ability, displayed no marks of spirit or courage. In a short time, all was rout and consternation; and a most complete victory was obtained, with inconsiderable loss. The almost entire conquest of the Spanish Netherlands was the immediate consequence of it. Louvain, Mechlin, Brussels, Antwerp, Ghent, and Bruges, submitted without resistance. Ostend, Menin, Dendermond, and Aeth, surrendered almost as soon as they were summoned. And during this fortunate campaign, the success of the allied arms in Spain and Italy was scarcely inferior to this uninterrupted series of triumphs in Flanders. The Duke of Savoy, who had acceded to the grand alliance in the hope of being powerfully supported by the Emperor, seemed to be abandoned to his fate. He defended himself, however, with undaunted resolution, against the efforts of the Duc de Vendome, the French General: But, overpowered by the superior force and the great military talents of his antagonist, he was at length reduced to take refuge in his capital of Turin, where he was closely besieged by the French army under Marechal Marfin; the Duc de Vendome, after the disaster of Ramilies, being recalled in order to take the command of the army in Flanders.

Flanders. The Imperial Court, determining to make one grand effort in order to relieve the Duke of Savoy in this extremity, directed Prince Eugene, at the head of a powerful army, to march to the relief of Turin. With such ability, and such success, did that celebrated commander execute this important commission, that, after surmounting all the numerous difficulties which obstructed his junction with the Duke, he attacked the French army in their intrenchments before Turin, and gained a most glorious and decisive victory; the unfortunate Marechal Marfin falling in the action. And this event was quickly followed by the final expulsion of the French from Lombardy. A loan, as M. Voltaire relates, being negotiated by the Imperial Court amongst the merchants of London, in order to defray the expence of this expedition; after the battle of Turin, Prince Eugene wrote to the subscribers in the following terms:—"Gentlemen, I have received your remittances, and flatter myself I have laid out the money to your entire satisfaction." The fortune of the war was not less favourable to the allies in the scene of action southward of the Pyrenees. The Arch-duke Charles, recognized as King of Spain by the powers of the alliance, after vainly attempting, by the aid of the King of Portugal, in conjunction with the English and German auxiliaries, to penetrate into that king-

whole, was splendid. At the commencement of it King Charles was closely besieged in Barcelona, and in imminent danger of being made a prisoner ; but it terminated in the recovery of Catalonia, the security of Valencia, and the reduction of Arragon.

But it is now proper to turn our attention to transactions of a civil and domestic nature. The new Parliament, which met the beginning of the preceding winter \*, soon discovered themselves to be actuated by a disposition very different from their predecessors, by passing a solemn, and almost unanimous vote, " That whoever presumed to assert the Church to be in danger under her Majesty's auspicious administration, was an enemy to the Queen, the church, and the kingdom." And the two Houses joined in an address to the Queen, beseeching her Majesty to take effective measures for discovering and punishing the authors and publishers of this seditious and scandalous report. That unanimity which had been so long interrupted between the two Legislative Assemblies, was perfectly restored under an Administration and Parliament, in both of which the principles of Whiggism had now gained a complete ascendancy, and which enjoyed the entire confidence of the nation. Public measures were concerted with wisdom, and executed with vigour and success ; and the general aspect of the times

\* Octob. 1705.

seemed

seemed peculiarly favourable to the accomplishment of that great design which the late King had recommended to Parliament, almost with his dying breath, and in which every true patriot most ardently concurred—an UNION between the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. This was at present an object of greater consequence than ever; for by an act passed by the Parliament of Scotland since the accession of the Queen, styled the Act of Security, that Assembly was empowered, in case of her Majesty's demise without issue, to declare a successor to the crown of Scotland. And very serious apprehensions were entertained, that a fatal and final separation of the two British crowns might be the result of this dangerous concession\*. The Lord Treasurer Go-

\* Such was the alarm excited in the Parliament of England by this Act, that a Bill was immediately introduced and passed, declaring the subjects of Scotland ALIENS so long as it remained in force, prohibiting the importation of cattle into England, or the exportation of wool into Scotland, and empowering the Queen's ships to seize such Scottish vessels as they should find trading to France. And the Queen was addressed to put the towns of Newcastle, Carlisle, and Hull, in a state of defence, and to order the militia of the northern counties to be disciplined and armed; and Lord Godolphin's zeal for the accomplishment of the Union was certainly invigorated, if not inspired, by the terrors of an impeachment.

fionate emotion the exclamation, " Et tu quoque  
 mi fili!"—" I see," says this animated Orator,  
 " a free and independent kingdom, tamely re-  
 signing that which has ever been considered  
 amongst nations as the prize most worthy of  
 contention—a power to manage and conduct  
 their own affairs, without any foreign interference  
 or controul. We are the successors of those who  
 founded our monarchy, framed our laws, and  
 who, during the space of two thousand years, have  
 handed them down to us with the hazard of their  
 lives and fortunes. Shall we not then zealously  
 plead for those rights which our renowned pro-  
 genitors so dearly purchased? Shall we hold our  
 peace, when our country is in danger? God for-  
 bid! ENGLAND is a great and glorious nation.  
 Her armies are numerous, powerful, and victorious:  
 Her trophies splendid and memorable. She dis-  
 poses of the fate of kingdoms. Her navy is the  
 terror of Europe. Her trade and commerce en-  
 circle the globe: And her capital is the emporium  
 of the universe. But we are a poor and obscure  
 people, in a remote corner of the world, without  
 name, without alliances, and without treasures.  
 What hinders us then to lay aside our divisions,  
 to unite cordially and heartily, when that liberty  
 which is alone our boast, when our all, our very  
 existence as a nation, is at stake? The enemy is  
 at our gates; Soon will he subvert this antient  
 and



and royal throne, and seize these regalia, the sacred symbols of our liberty and independence. Where are our peers, and our chieftains? Where are the Hamiltons, the Douglasses, the Murrays, and the Campbells? Will posterity believe that such names yet existed when the nation was reduced to this last extremity of degradation, and that they were not eager in such a cause to devote themselves for their country, and die in the bed of honour? My heart," said this noble Patriot, "is full of grief and indignation, when I consider the triumph obtained by England, who has, at length, brought this fierce and warlike people under subjection, who, for so many ages, shed the best blood of the nation to establish their independency. It is superfluous," added he, "to enter into a formal examination of the articles of this treaty; for though we should even receive a *carte blanche* from England, what is this in exchange for our sovereignty! But does not, in fact, this pretended union amount to a political annihilation? I see the English constitution remaining firm. The same two Houses of Parliament, the same municipal laws, the same commercial Companies, the same Courts of Judicature—while we make an ignominious and entire surrender of our national polity, our rights, our liberties, our honour, and our safety!"—These were the sentiments by which the Scottish nation was almost

universally actuated, and by which a generous and high-spirited people could not fail of being at such a crisis very powerfully impressed. The speech of Lord Belhaven drew tears of anger and disdain from his auditors. And it was in vain that a few disinterested and dispassionate patriots, who from principle acted in conjunction with the numerous band of courtiers, placemen, and pensioners, who composed a majority of the Parliament, forcibly urged the great and solid advantages which must result from this union. "That the actual situation of Scotland, in a political view," said one of the Lords Commissioners, who addressed the House upon this occasion \*, "is disadvantageous and ineligible, no one will venture to deny. Two kingdoms subject to one Sovereign, and having separate interests, must be liable to endless emulations and jealousies: And the Monarch will, whenever these interests come, or are supposed to come, in competition, be obliged to decide in favour of the more powerful kingdom. And the greater the disparity of power and riches, the greater and more manifest will be the partiality; as the experience of a whole century has too fatally evinced. But, to aim at an absolute separation of the British Crowns, would be a rash and romantic project. If, in former ages, the Scots were scarcely able, with the most heroic

\* Mr. Seaton of Pitmedden.

exertions, to maintain their independency, how could it be imagined possible, now, that England had acquired such an immense preponderance in the scale of power? Were they to seek for refuge or security in the revival of the antient league with France? This would itself be a virtual declaration of hostility against England, and probably accelerate that catastrophe which it was its professed object to avert. The policy of Europe would undoubtedly prevent any effectual interference of France in their behalf, in opposition to England, the great bulwark of the liberties of Christendom. By an entire separation from England, the internal tranquillity, and domestic order of the State, would be also imminently endangered. Is the nation prepared for the reception of a new system of laws and jurisprudence? or shall we revert to that Gothic constitution of government, adapted to the rude and barbarous manners of our ancestors, and productive of perpetual feuds and implacable animosities — of devastation — outrage and anarchy — and which, previous to the union of the two Crowns, we know the executive power did not possess energy sufficient to repress? If, then, the connection with England cannot be safely dissolved, and if the political relation in which we now stand as to that country, is the subject of just and grievous complaint; what remains but to form a permanent union of the two Kingdoms,

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doms, as well as of the two Crowns, on terms of reciprocal amity and advantage? Of the necessity and expediency of a firm and durable union, we profess indeed an almost unanimous conviction—but then it is a federal, and not an incorporative union, for which many of our countrymen entertain a zealous and invincible predilection. But this is not the union which England offers to our acceptance, or which she will herself accept. A federal union would be productive of no advantage, would remedy no evil. And where is the guarantee for the observance of the articles of a federal compact between two nations, one of which is so much superior to the other in riches, power, and numbers? History demonstrates, that incorporative unions, such as the kingdoms included in the Spanish monarchy afford an example of, are solid and permanent: But that a federal union is a weak and precarious bond of connection, easily dissolved by interest or ambition. Sweden and Denmark were once united by a federal compact—But was peace and concord the result of this compact? No—It was the parent of strife, of enmity and oppression; and it terminated in scenes of blood and slaughter, and in everlasting separation. Let us not then amuse ourselves with words, instead of things. By an union of kingdoms, I acknowledge, I comprehend nothing short of an union of power, of government, and of interest.

Till

Till both nations are thus incorporated into one, England will neither extend to us the benefits of her commerce, nor the protection of her arms. By this union, Scotland will be put into the immediate possession of advantages, to which she could never otherwise attain. The sources of prosperity will be opened to her view, and placed within her reach. We shall have ample scope for the exercise of our national industry, in all its various branches. To the vain ambition of independence — to the mere delusive phantom of royalty, will succeed the flourishing arts of peace; and Scotland will, by a policy founded on true wisdom, acquire that security and happiness which form the great and genuine end of government. We shall, with a just increase of confidence, see our liberty, property, and religion, placed under the guardian care and protection of one Sovereign, and one Legislature: And every branch of the Empire, every part of the body-politic, be it ever so remote from the seat of Government, will participate in the universal prosperity, under the beneficial influence of the same equitable and liberal system of polity, and in the enjoyment of the same civil rights and commercial advantages, in proportion to the value of its natural products, and the vigour and perseverance of its own laudable and voluntary exertions."

Notwith.

Notwithstanding the good sense and political rectitude of these reasonings, such was the violence with which the Treaty of Union was opposed in the Scottish Parliament, and such the commotions which it excited in the kingdom, that the Duke of Queensberry, at this time High Commissioner, absolutely despaired of success, and was desirous of adjourning the Parliament, till, by time and management, he should be able to obviate those formidable difficulties. But the Lord Treasurer Godolphin, who saw that the measure would be lost by delay, urged him to persist in his exertions, which were at length crowned with success. The rage of opposition *suddenly* subsided; and the Treaty, as originally framed, received, without any material alteration, the solemn sanction of the Scottish Parliament. And the Act of Union being now completed on the part of Scotland, passed through both Houses in the English Parliament, by a very singular effort of political dexterity, almost without opposition, or even debate or discussion. For it was so contrived that the articles of the Treaty, as approved and ratified by the Parliament of Scotland, should be recited in the preamble of the Act, and that the whole should be converted into a law by a single enacting clause. This was a mode of conducting the business which the Tories were by no means prepared to encounter, as it totally precluded them from taking the articles separately

separately into consideration ; and they could not, with the least prospect of success, oppose the general enacting clause. The Bill, therefore, passed through both Houses with uncommon rapidity, and by great majorities. And nothing can more strikingly demonstrate the eagerness and ardour with which this measure was prosecuted by the Whigs, than their adopting this unprecedented, and, in other circumstances, unjustifiable mode of ensuring the success of it.

Encouraged by the daring spirit of faction which at this period prevailed in Scotland, the French Court equipped a powerful armament at Dunkirk, with the view of making a descent in that kingdom ; on board of which embarked the Chevalier de St. George, son of the late King James. Immediately on sailing from Dunkirk, they were closely pursued by an English Squadron, commanded by Sir George Byng, who captured one of their flag ships ; and the whole armament was so scattered and dispersed in their retreat from the action, that they could not even effect a landing, which might, at the present crisis, have been attended with very serious consequences. And after being tossed for more than a month in a stormy and tempestuous sea, they at last found their way back, in a shattered and distressed condition, to the port of Dunkirk. On this occasion, the most firm and vigorous measures were taken by the  
Govern-

advantage over the enemy: And the French General, whose policy it was to act upon the defensive, fully sustained his high reputation, by thus putting, after his Grace's long career of victories, a sudden and total stop to the progress of his arms. If in Flanders the wishes and expectations of the Confederates were not satisfactorily answered, in Spain they suffered a fatal reverse: For, a general engagement taking place at Almanza, the Spanish army, commanded by the Duke of Berwick, gained a most complete victory. The loss sustained by the Allies was estimated at no less than 10,000 men; and they were constrained, in consequence of this disaster, to abandon the kingdoms of Arragon and Valencia, and to retire once more to the remote province of Catalonia, which still continued faithful in its attachment to the House of Austria. The projects of the Allies in Italy also proved unhappily abortive. In the month of July, Prince Eugene, and the Duke of Savoy, passed the Var, at the head of 30,000 men, and marched directly towards Toulon, to which they laid close siege. As the principal naval magazines of France, and the greater part of the fleet, were inclosed within its walls, or its harbour, this enterprize excited a general consternation. The place was however defended with the most heroic valour; and troops being assembled from all parts, in great force, for



its relief, the Duke of Savoy, who feared lest his retreat to Italy should be intercepted, thought proper to raise the siege with precipitation, and to repass the Var, without any acquisition of honour or profit from this undertaking, into his own dominions. Great blame was upon this occasion imputed to the Emperor, who detached a large body of troops, destined for this expedition, to the kingdom of Naples, of which he effected a complete conquest: And this was the only advantage gained by the Allies during this unfortunate campaign; which, however, did not prevent the House of Peers from passing a resolution, much applauded by the zealous Whigs, "That no peace could be safe and honourable for her Majesty, and her Allies, if Spain and the Indies were suffered to continue in the possession of the House of Bourbon."

The King of France, emboldened by the success of the last campaign, and confiding in the talents of his General, was this year inclined to act more upon the offensive; and early in the spring 1708, the Duc de Vendome surprised the cities of Ghent and Bruges, and laid siege to the town of Oudenard. The Duke of Marlborough, however, being now joined by Prince Eugene, compelled the enemy to raise the siege of Oudenard; and following them in their retreat, forced them to a general engagement in the vicinity of that place.

Though

Though the Duc de Vendome, whose measures were, during the whole of this campaign, much embarrassed by the presence of the Duke of Burgundy, acted the part of a great General upon this occasion, rallying, in person, the broken battalions, calling the officers by name, and conjuring them to maintain the honour of their country; the French army was, in the end, entirely defeated. Night however saved them from total ruin; and the Duc de Vendome, seeing all hope of retrieval lost, formed his best troops into a rear-guard, with which he secured a tolerable retreat. In consequence of this important victory, the Generals of the Allies determined to undertake the siege of Lille, the capital of French Flanders—a town, on the fortifications of which Vauban had exhausted his utmost skill, and which was defended by a garrison so numerous that the success of the enterprise was adjudged extremely doubtful. After happily surmounting the numerous obstacles which the ability and vigilance of the Duc de Vendome, still more than the unrivalled art of the engineer, continually created; and in some of which the superior fortune, rather than skill, of the Duke of Marlborough, was apparent; this important town, together with its citadel, surrendered to the allied army, to the inexpressible chagrin of the French Court, who saw the frontier of France, by this conquest, exposed to the most dangerous future attacks.

attacks. Ghent and Bruges were also recovered before the end of this campaign, which terminated only with the year.

In Spain and Italy the war seemed for the present to slumber. But, during the course of the summer, Sir John Leake made a complete conquest of the Island of Sardinia; and, in concert with General Stanhope, also of Minorca. And the Pope was menaced by the British Admiral with the bombardment of Civita-Vecchia, in return for the assistance he had publicly afforded the Pretender in his late expedition into Scotland. From this affront, however, the Holy Pontiff was saved by the seasonable interposition of the Imperial Court in his favour.

The campaign in Flanders was opened in June 1709, by the siege of Tournay, which surrendered at discretion, after a long and obstinate resistance. The Allies next prepared to attack the city of Mons. But the French army, now commanded by Marechal Villars, posting themselves behind the woods of La-Merte and Taniers, in the neighbourhood of Malplaquet, in order to obstruct this design, the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene formed a resolution to attack the French General in his camp, which, naturally strong, he had fortified with redoubts behind redoubts, and intrenchments behind intrenchments, with such diligence and skill as to make it apparently inaccessible.

cessible. After an obstinate, fierce, and bloody engagement, however, the lines were forced, but not till Marechal Villars had been wounded and carried off the field. And it was not without some appearance of reason the Marechal was accustomed to boast, that had it not been for this accident, the Allies would certainly have been defeated. Marechal Boufflers, second in command, made an excellent retreat; and the loss of the victors was little less than that of the vanquished. The victory, however, was crowned by the capture of Mons; after which, both armies went into winter-quarters. In Spain, Count Staremberg, the Austrian General, maintained his ground with reputation to the Imperial arms. The Duke of Savoy, since the failure of his great enterprise, contented himself with operations merely defensive, wisely shunning those risques which might have reduced him once more to that extremity of distress from which he had so lately been almost miraculously rescued.

Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough again took the field together in Flanders, April 1710; and the success of the campaign was equal to the expectations excited by the junction of such extraordinary talents. Notwithstanding the utmost exertions of Marechal Villars, who directed the operations of the French army with great ability, the Allies successively reduced the towns of Douay, Bethune, St. Venant, and Aire, passing in

In the prosecution of these sieges one hundred and fifty days in open trenches. The most interesting events of the present summer passed however in Spain. The reigning Monarch, eager to put a final termination to the hopes and claims of his competitor, advanced at the head of a powerful army into Arragon, in order to bring matters to a decisive issue. General Stanhope notwithstanding, with a force very inferior, attacked and totally routed the Spanish cavalry at Almanara. And Count Staremberg following the motions of the King, who found it necessary, in consequence of this check, to retire towards Saragossa, discovered the Spanish army drawn up in order of battle, near that place; and an engagement ensuing, the enemy were entirely defeated; King Charles entered Saragossa in triumph, while Philip retired with the wreck of his army to Madrid. The good fortune of Charles, however, was of short duration; proceeding, without delay, to Madrid, in pursuit of his competitor, he had the mortification to find that city entirely deserted by all the Spanish grandees, and to receive the most convincing proofs of the fidelity and attachment of the Castilians to his rival. Great efforts being made by Philip to collect another army, he soon appeared again in force; and Count Staremberg being wholly unsupported, and apprehending his retreat to Catalonia might be intercepted, thought

it expedient to retrace his footsteps ; and in the beginning of November, his army marched back to Saragossa : But the greater part of the British forces, under General Stanhope, imprudently halting at Brihuega, were suddenly surprised and surrounded by the Spanish army, and reduced to the fatal necessity of surrendering themselves prisoners of war. And in a few days afterwards, Staremberg himself was attacked at Villa Viciosa with great valour, but doubtful success : He was, however, compelled, victor as he styled himself, to abandon Arragon, and retire to Catalonia ; and being closely pursued by the Duc de Vendome, now at the head of the Spanish forces, he was at last driven to take shelter under the walls of Barcelona. Thus the flattering successes of the Allies, at the commencement of this campaign, proved wholly delusive ; and, during the remaining years of the war, Charles was never able to regain even a temporary superiority.

In the month of May in the succeeding year, 1711, the Duke of Marlborough appeared, for the last time, at the head of the grand army in Flanders—Prince Eugene commanding a separate body of forces on the Rhine. This campaign was not distinguished, on the part of his Grace, by brilliant success ; but it attracted uncommon attention, as exhibiting the most consummate proofs of military skill and conduct. Marechal Villars had,

had, with great labour and perseverance, drawn lines from Bouchaine on the Scheld along the Sanfet and Scarpe, to Arras and Canché, which he had fortified by redoubts, batteries, and other military works, in such a manner that he scrupled not publicly to boast that they were impregnable, and that the English General had at length arrived at his *ne plus ultra*. The Duke, however, boldly advanced within two leagues of the French lines, making every preparation in order to a vigorous attack the next morning; and Villars drew, with all possible diligence, his whole force on that side, in full expectation of an immediate and furious engagement. This being foreseen by the Duke, he had given previous orders to Generals Cadogan and Hompesch, with a strong detachment, secretly drawn from the neighbouring garrisons, to take possession of the passes on the river Sanfet, at Arleux. At nine in the evening the Duke silently decamped, and by eight the next morning he arrived at Arleux with his whole army, after a march of ten leagues, without halting. Villars, on being certified of the Duke's motions, within a few hours of his departure, marched all night with such expedition, that, at eleven the next morning, he was in sight of the Duke of Marlborough, who, to his unspeakable mortification, had, as he now found, entered those lines which he had himself vauntingly pronounced

impregnable, without the loss of a man. His Grace immediately invested the important fortress of Bouchaine, which surrendered after twenty days open trenches only. And this admired and hazardous military achievement closed the long glories of this celebrated Commander; who, at the critical moment in which he had almost penetrated the French barrier, and when another Ramilies might have removed all obstacles in his march to Paris, was, by the mandate of that Sovereign, whom he had served with such unparalleled ability and success, divested of all his civil and military employments. The gradation of causes which led to this event, at which all Europe stood in astonishment, it will now be necessary concisely to develope.

Of the favourable opinion universally entertained by the English nation, respecting the general purity and rectitude of the Queen's intentions, the epithet of the *good* Queen Anne, so commonly applied to this Princess, is itself a sufficient proof. This good Queen, however, had imbibed, in a very great degree, the hereditary prejudices of her family respecting the nature and extent of the sovereign authority. And there is reason to believe that the successful resistance of the nation to the late King James, was, in her eyes, justified only by the attempts made to establish Popery upon the ruins of the Protestant religion;



to which, in the form exhibiting itself to her perception, as inculcated and professed by the Church of England, she entertained a zealous attachment, or rather a blind and bigoted devotion. As her prejudices, political and religious, precisely coincided with those of the Tories, she cherished a strong predilection for that powerful and dangerous faction, in opposition to the Whigs, who were considered as for the most part latitudinarians in religion, or at best as cool and luke-warm friends of the church; and who certainly regarded the particular mode in which the Protestant religion was professed, as of little importance, when put in competition with the preservation, enlargement, or security of the civil and religious liberties of the kingdom. The political views of the Sectaries, who were very numerous and active, entirely corresponded with those of the Whig party; and their whole weight was invariably thrown into this scale. In return, the Whigs were the strenuous and constant advocates of the Dissenters, whenever they were threatened with any species of persecution or oppression. It has been already remarked, that the passions of all the zealous adherents of liberty were, at the period of the Queen's accession, extremely inflamed against the French Monarch—that imperious and restless despot—on account of the open and avowed protection which he granted to the son of the late

King James. When England, therefore, acceded to the Grand Alliance, the Whigs rejoiced in the prospect of humbling the pride, and reducing the power, of that haughty tyrant. Previous to the death of King William, the idea of a war with France had become exceedingly popular; and after the accession of the Queen, the leaders of the Tories, Rochester, Nottingham, &c. who opposed a declaration of war on the part of England as unnecessary and impolitic, were over-ruled in the Council, chiefly through the all-powerful influence of the Earl of Marlborough, who, though himself attached to the Tories, was impatient to give full scope to his talents; and in whose breast an ardent thirst for glory, that "infirmity of noble minds," superseded every other consideration. This influence was obtained chiefly through the medium of the Countess of Marlborough, who had been long employed in stations near the Queen's person, and who had gradually acquired a complete ascendancy over her. In process of time, Marlborough, and Godolphin his friend and co-adjutor, finding that the war received a faint and feeble support only from the Tories, began to connect themselves with the Whigs, who were zealous and sanguine in the prosecution of it. And the Queen, under the direction and government of these two noblemen, suffered the Tories to be gradually displaced, an administration composed entirely

directly of Whigs to be formed, and two successive Parliaments to be chosen under the influence of the Court, in which that party maintained a decided superiority. While affairs continued in this state, a trivial and fortuitous incident eventually occasioned a total change in the face of Europe. The Dutchess of Marlborough had introduced a female relation and dependant at the Court, who so artfully and rapidly insinuated herself into the Queen's affection and favour, that the Dutchess found herself absolutely supplanted, almost before she was apprized of the danger. The new favourite, Mrs. Masham, soon discovering the Queen's secret predilection for the Tories, combined with Mr. Harley, at this time Secretary of State, but who aspired to nothing less than the station of Prime Minister, to prepossess the mind of the Queen against the Duke of Marlborough, and the Earl of Godolphin; who, as they said, and truly said, made her Majesty a mere cypher in the Government, and engrossed all power, influence, and patronage, into their own hands—omitting, however, to inform the Queen of another truth, not less palpable; *viz.* that such was the imbecility of her Majesty's understanding and capacity, that she must necessarily remain a cypher, in whatever hands her affairs were placed. And the voice, not of England only, but of Europe, declared, that the public interests could not be entrusted to more faithful

faithful or more able directors than the present ministers. The intrigues of Harley with the Tories soon transpiring, he was compelled immediately to relinquish his employments, though with manifest tokens of resentment and alienation from the Whigs, on the part of the Queen. The entire management of affairs nevertheless still remained with that party; and so little force and vigour of mind did the Queen possess, that if subsequent circumstances had not in a remarkable and unexpected manner favoured a revolution in politics, it is very doubtful whether it would ever have been effected. Notwithstanding the wonderful successes of the present war, the heavy burdens which in consequence of its long continuance it became necessary to impose, considerably damped the ardour of the public, and by degrees had much abated its original popularity. And the overtures for a general accommodation made by Louis from time to time, and the great concessions offered by that Monarch, led the generality of intelligent and dispassionate people to consider the grand object of the war as now sufficiently attained. At the conferences held first at the Hague, and in the following year at Gertruytenberg, A. D. 1710, so low were the mighty fallen, that the King of France, through the medium of the Marquis de Torcy, his Prime Minister, who upon this occasion took upon him the office of negotiator in person, conde-

condescended to acknowledge the Arch-duke Charles as true and rightful Sovereign of the Spanish monarchy ; and made in all other respects such ample concessions, as the dire necessity of his affairs demanded ; such indeed as amply secured the interests, and ought to have satisfied the utmost ambition, of the Allies. With all the influence of prosperity, however, they insisted that Louis should absolutely engage for the entire restitution of the Spanish monarchy to the House of Austria, in the space of two months. It was in vain that he urged “ this was a promise not in his power to perform ; and that he could not at his pleasure depose a King of Spain, or impose a Monarch upon the Spanish nation contrary to their own inclination.” The plea was treated as idle and frivolous. And even the offer which he ultimately made, to surrender three fortresses in Flanders into the hands of the Allies as pledges for the restitution of Spain, and to furnish his quota in money or troops for the reduction of that kingdom, should Spain refuse to accede to the treaty, was rejected with disdain ; to the extreme dissatisfaction of all moderate and reasonable persons, who saw that the war was in future to be continued, merely to gratify the immeasurable ambition of the House of Austria, and that, exclusive of the flagrant injustice of forcing a Sovereign on the Spaniards, who was the object of the national abhorrence,

abhorrence, the policy of the measure was in present circumstances extremely doubtful. For the power of France being so greatly reduced, while the grandeur of the Imperial Family was elevated in the same proportion, not less danger was to be apprehended by transferring Spain and the Indies to the House of Austria, than by leaving them in the possession of a Prince of the House of Bourbon. The Parliament, notwithstanding, highly approved the conduct of the British plenipotentiaries, and returned the Duke of Marlborough their unanimous thanks for his public services, when it became every day more apparent, that he was actuated chiefly by private considerations, and that he invariably opposed all overtures of conciliation, prompted by the suggestions of ambition and of interest. In order however effectually to check and intimidate that rising spirit of discontent, evident symptoms of which began now to appear in the nation, and to display the firmness of their attachment to those principles in which this once popular war had originated, the Parliament determined to give full scope to their vengeance, on an occasion which certainly called for no such extraordinary violence of exertion.

On the 5th November 1709, an obscure clergyman of the name of Sacheverel, of the High-Church faction, preaching at St. Paul's cathedral upon the words of St. Paul, "Perils from false brethren,"

brethren," indulged himself in the most virulent defamation and abuse of the present Administration, and of their measures. The Lord Treasurer in particular was scurrilously attacked, under the name of VOLPONE; and divers of the Right Reverend Bench were also inveighed against with much scorn and malignity, as " perfidious prelates and false sons of the Church," on account of their moderation respecting the Dissenters, and their avowed approbation of the Toleration. He asserted, in terms the most unqualified, the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance; and pretended, that to say the Revolution was inconsistent with those doctrines, was to cast black and odious imputations upon it. He affirmed, that the Church was violently assailed by her enemies, and faintly defended by those who professed themselves her friends. He vehemently urged the necessity of standing up in defence of the Church; for which he declared, that he sounded the trumpet, and exhorted the people " *to put on the whole armour of GOD.*" This inflammatory and libellous harangue being published at the request of the Lord Mayor, was extravagantly extolled and applauded by the Tories, and circulated by them with great industry throughout the kingdom. At the very height of the popular ferment and clamour excited by this extraordinary invective, and which would doubtless have soon died away, had

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no public notice been taken of it, a complaint was formally preferred to the House of Commons, by one of the Members of that House; of this sermon, as containing positions contrary to Revolution principles, to the present Government, and to the Protestant succession. As it was by this means obtruded upon the notice of the House, it was impossible not to express in some mode their disapprobation of these nefarious and seditious tenets. The wiser Members thought it sufficient to order the sermon to be burnt by the common hangman, and to commit the writer to Newgate during the remainder of the Session. This, however, was by no means satisfactory to the majority, who determined to raise this contemptible libeller to the rank of a political delinquent of great consequence and dignity, by a solemn parliamentary impeachment at the Bar of the House of Lords. No sooner was this absurd and unaccountable resolution made public, than every possible artifice was put in practice, by the Tory faction, to inflame the minds of the public; and to represent Sacheverel as the champion and martyr of the Church, which the Whigs had, as they affirmed, a fixed intent to subvert; and of which project the impeachment of Sacheverel was only the prelude. These calumnies, however gross and palpable, were swallowed by the populace with amazing avidity. During the trial, which lasted three weeks,



weeks, his coach, in passing between Westminster-Hall and the Temple, where he then lodged, was constantly attended by vast multitudes with shouts and acclamations of applause. And great tumults prevailed in the metropolis, where several places of worship licensed under the Act of Toleration were pulled down; the houses of many of the most eminent Dissenters were plundered; and those of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Wharton, the Bishop of Sarum, &c. were threatened with demolition. The managers of the House of Commons, amongst whom were the celebrated names of KING, STANHOPE, and WALPOLE, nevertheless exerted themselves with great courage and ability in support of the prosecution \*. And divers of the Lords, Spi-  
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\* As the sentiments of the Whig managers of this Impeachment, and of the Revolution Whigs in general, have of late been grossly and daringly misrepresented, it cannot be improper to make a few extracts from the Speeches delivered at this celebrated trial; from which a competent judgment may be formed of the general strain and spirit of the proceedings on this occasion, in behalf of the Commons of Great Britain.

Lord Coningsby.—“ The Doctor, by reflecting on the necessary means to bring about the Revolution—the foundation on which our present happy establishment is built—by asserting that her Majesty ought to depend on no other title to her throne, than her hereditary one, designed by such destructive positions to bring back the Pretender, with Popery and French tyranny attending him, to govern the state.”—As long therefore as a pretender to the throne existed, it was true that the political

ritual as well as temporal, distinguished themselves by the spirit and liberality of their remarks on this interesting

cal claims and rights of the Kings of England rested, like those of magistrates of every other denomination, upon the general consent and will of the people, or community at large, as the only proper and rational basis. But the very shadow of competition being at length vanished, they are now advised by some who presume to style themselves WHIGs, to revert for the future to the old ground of inviolable hereditary right.

Mr. Dolben.—“ This gentleman, Dr. S. must be allowed the infamy to have stretched and improved this pernicious tenet to the exalted height of making all our laws, liberties, religion, and lives, to be held only at the precarious pleasure of any bold invader, when it is taught that no oppression, no violence, can justify an opposition to it. My Lords, the Commons have brought this offender before you, with a view not only to detect and punish his offence, but to obtain an occasion in the most public and authentic manner to avow the principles and justify the means upon which the present Government and the Protestant Succession are founded and established; and this more out of a generous concern for posterity than for our own present security. We hope the record of this proceeding will remain a lasting monument to deter a successor that may inherit the crown, but not the virtues of her Majesty, from attempting to invade the laws or the people's rights; and if not, that it will be a noble precedent to excite our posterity to *wrestle and tug* for liberty as we have done.”—Could it possibly have entered into the imagination of this patriotic speaker, to accuse any one of sedition for teaching that the people *have* a right, while in the same breath he accused Dr. S. of a high offence for teaching that the people have *not* a right, to depose their governors for misconduct?—And will it be pretended by those who have the audacity

interesting occasion. The Earl of Wharton, knowing at the time the Queen to be in the House *incognita*, took the opportunity to observe, that if the Revolution was not lawful, many in that House, and vast numbers out of it, were guilty of bloodshed and treason; and that the Queen herself was no legal Sovereign, since the best title she had to the Crown was her parliamentary title, founded on the Revolution. Dr. Wake, Bishop of Lincoln, remarked, that by false and injurious representations, men had been made to believe the Church to be in danger, when in reality it enjoyed

audacity to bring forward such preposterous charges, that they agree in *all* points of political theory and practice with the Whigs of the Revolution!

“ If,” says Sir Joseph Jekyl, “ this doctrine of unlimited non-resistance prevail, we must give up our right to the laws and liberties of the Kingdom, and hold them only during pleasure.—Hath not this principle of unlimited non-resistance been revived by the professed and undisguised friends of the Pretender? The law is the only measure of the Prince’s authority and the people’s subjection, and it derives its being and efficacy from COMMON CONSENT; though patriarchal or other fantastical schemes have been framed to rest the authority of the law upon.”

—It is plain therefore, that as the general theory of this justly applauded manager perfectly accords with that which it is now the fashion to explode, the theories which essentially vary from it, on whatever grounds the ingenuity of their inventors may place them, must be ranked amongst the number of those *fantastical schemes*, which Sir Joseph Jekyl rejects with indignation and contempt.

the most perfect security ; but that such invectives, if not timely corrected, might kindle such heat and animosities as would truly endanger both Church and State. And Burnet, Bishop of Sarum, justified the principle of resistance without reserve. He mentioned the conduct of Queen Elizabeth, who had assisted the French, the Scots, and the Hollanders, in resisting their respective Sovereigns, and who was supported in this practice both by her parliaments and her convocations. He observed, that King Charles I. had assisted the city of Rochelle ; and that Mainwaring had incurred the severest censure of Parliament, for broaching the doctrine of the divine right of Kings :—That though this became afterwards a fashionable doctrine, yet its most zealous assertors were the first to resist, when actually suffering under oppression. He said, that by inveighing against the Revolution, the Toleration, and the Union, the delinquent at their Lordships' Bar had arraigned and attacked the Queen herself ; since her Majesty had a distinguished share in the first, had often declared she would maintain the second, and that she looked upon the third as the most glorious event of her reign. He affirmed, that this audacious libeller had likewise cast the most scandalous reflections upon her Majesty's ministers ; and that he had, in particular, drawn the portrait of a noble Peer then present, in colours so lively, and had so plainly

plainly pointed him out by a vile and scurrilous epithet, which he would not repeat, that it was impossible to mistake in making the application. This unintentional sarcasm on the Lord Treasurer somewhat discomposed the gravity of the House; and in violation of dignity and decorum, the Bishop was loudly called upon to name him; which, in the fervour of his zeal, and in the wanderings of that mental absence for which he was remarkable, he might perhaps have done, had not the Lord Chancellor interposed, and declared that no Peer was obliged to say more than he himself should deem proper. In conclusion, Sacheverel was, after high debates, found guilty of a misdemeanour, by a majority of seventeen voices only\*; and he was adjudged to be suspended from preaching for the space of three years, and his sermon ordered to be publicly burnt. And to the same flames was also somewhat whimsically, though very deservedly, committed the famous decree of the University of Oxford, passed near thirty years before, asserting the absolute authority and indefeasible right of Princes. This mild sentence, which cast an air of ridicule over the whole proceedings, was considered as equivalent to an acquittal by the Tory faction, who celebrated their triumph by bonfires and illuminations, not only in London, but over the whole kingdom.

\* 52 to 69.

These rejoicings were succeeded by numerous addresses expressive of a zealous attachment to the Church, and an utter detestation of all anti-monarchical and republican principles. And in a progress which Sacheverel afterwards made into a remote part of the country, he was sumptuously entertained by the University of Oxford, invited to the palaces of different noblemen, received in many towns by the magistrates in their formalities, and generally attended by a numerous escort of horse. In other places the hedges were ornamented with garlands of flowers, the steeples were covered with streamers and flags, and the air every-where resounded with the cry of "The Church and Sacheverel!" The enthusiasm spread like a contagion through all ranks and orders of people. Men seemed to suffer a temporary dereliction of sense and understanding, and the mob and the nation were for a time terms of the same import. No martyr suffering in the glorious cause of civil and religious liberty, was ever perhaps so much the object of public applause and veneration, as this wretched and fanatical preacher of nonsense, impiety, and sedition.

Encouraged by the disposition now universally prevalent, the Queen gave the first public indication of her total change of system, by dismissing the Marquis of Kent, April 1710, and giving the  
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office of Chamberlain to the Duke of Shrewsbury. In June, the Seals were taken from the Earl of Sunderland, and given to the Earl of Dartmouth: And in August, the Lord High Treasurer Godolphin was ordered to break his staff; and the Treasury was put into commission, Earl Paulet being appointed First Commissioner. But this appointment was considered as merely nominal; Mr. Harley, who was constituted Chancellor of the Exchequer, being regarded as chief, or rather sole minister. In October, the Queen came in person to the Council, and ordered a proclamation to be issued for dissolving the Parliament: Upon which the Lord Chancellor rose to speak; but the Queen declared that she would admit of no debate, for that SUCH WAS HER PLEASURE. At the same time, she dismissed the Lord Somers, and made the Earl of Rochester Lord President of the Council. The Duke of Buckingham was declared Lord Steward, in the room of the Duke of Devonshire. The Seals in the possession of Mr. Boyle, were given to Mr. St. John: The Lord High Chancellor Cowper was succeeded by Sir Simon Harcourt. The Earl of Wharton resigned the government of Ireland; and the Earl of Orford, his seat at the head of the Admiralty. The Duke of Marlborough alone was still suffered to retain his employments, which he was deterred from resigning by the pressing entreaties of the Emperor and the States-

General, who conceived the fortune of the war to be in a great measure attached to his person. On his return from the ensuing campaign, he was however, as mention has already been made, divested of his command, which was immediately conferred upon the Duke of Ormond.

The Parliament, which met in November, was composed almost wholly of Tories, who eagerly sought occasions to display their hatred to the principles and persons of their predecessors. An inquiry was set on foot in the House of Peers into the conduct of the war in Spain: And the Earl of Galway and General Stanhope, being Whigs, were censured for resolving to adopt offensive measures, at the opening of the campaign in 1707, contrary to the advice of the Earl of Peterborough; which resolution was with singular sagacity voted to be the cause of the loss of the battle of Almanza, with all its fatal consequences. And the Earl of Peterborough, a zealous Tory, was thanked for his great and eminent services. Though the Earl of Godolphin had been one of the most incorrupt of ministers, a vote of censure also passed upon him, on pretence that his accounts were not regularly audited. For the sake of offering an indignity to the memory of King William, the House of Commons ordered in a Bill, empowering commissioners to examine all grants made by that Monarch, and to report the value



value of them, and the considerations upon which they were bestowed. This, however, was rejected by the Lords. Great pains were taken to fix a stigma upon the character of the Duke of Marlborough; and the customary perquisites which he received in the capacity of Commander in Chief, were voted to be unwarrantable and illegal; and it was resolved by the House, that the sums so received, ought to be accounted for as public property: And the Queen ordered the Attorney General to commence a prosecution against the Duke for money actually received by virtue of her own warrant.

Early in the year 1711, Harley was raised to the dignity of Lord High Treasurer, and created Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer. About this period, died Joseph, Emperor of the Romans. His brother, the Arch-duke Charles, nominal King of Spain, was elected Emperor without opposition. This event afforded a fair opening to renew the overtures for a general peace, which was now not less the object of the eager wishes of the Court of London than that of Versailles. After a secret, or, as it was styled by the Whigs, a clandestine negotiation with the agents of the French Court, protracted for many months, it was at last agreed, that Utrecht should be the place of Congress, and that the conferences should be opened the first of January 1712. The new Emperor,

who was previously informed that Spain and the Indies were, by the consent of England, to remain in the possession of Philip, vehemently opposed the project of a treaty, by which he considered his interests as sacrificed : And the States-General themselves acceded to it with much reluctance, and after long and repeated delays. The Whigs exclaimed with all the violence of party rage, against a plan of accommodation founded on this basis, which they represented as fraught with treachery to our allies, and ruin to ourselves. The ideas inculcated by the leaders, and swallowed by the dupes of the faction, are strongly, though undesignedly, depicted by Bishop Burnet ; who gravely informs us, that when the Queen condescended to ask of him his sentiments respecting peace, upon obtaining permission to speak his mind plainly, he told her Majesty, “ That it was his opinion, that any treaty by which Spain and the Indies were left to King Philip, must in a little while deliver up all Europe into the hands of France. And if any such peace should be made, she was betrayed, and we were all ruined. In less than three years time, she would be murdered, and the fires would be again kindled in Smithfield.”

The Parliament being now convened, the Earl of Nottingham, after copiously expatiating on the dangers to be apprehended from leaving a Prince of the House of Bourbon in possession of the monarchy  
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of Spain, moved, that a clause might be added to the address in answer to the speech from the throne, representing to her Majesty, "that in the opinion of that House, no peace could be safe or honourable to Great Britain or Europe, if Spain and the Indies were allotted to any branch of the House of Bourbon." The previous question being put upon this motion, it was carried in the affirmative by a single vote; and the main question by three voices, against the utmost efforts of the Court. The Earl of Nottingham was, himself, one of the most distinguished leaders of the Tory party; but he was, at this period, extremely discontented at the ascendancy acquired by the Earl of Oxford, under whom he would not deign to act a subordinate part. The reward for the service thus rendered to the Whigs was their support, or rather acquiescence, in a Bill which the same nobleman now moved for leave to bring in against occasional conformity; without which, as he said, he was only an individual; but with it, an host. As there was little doubt, from the present temper of the times, that this famous Bill, so often and so strongly agitated, would be revived, the Whigs made no scruple to permit the Earl of Nottingham to conciliate the confidence of his party, by being himself the mover of it, especially as the penalties of the proposed Bill were much milder than they would probably have been  
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if introduced under the auspices of the Court. In consequence of this previous agreement, the Bill passed through both Houses with silence and rapidity. The Dissenters, however, who did not perfectly comprehend these political and courtly manœuvres, loudly complained that they were deserted by their friends, who endeavoured in vain to persuade them that they consulted their interest in consenting to their oppression.

At this period Prince Eugene arrived in England, being charged with instructions from the Emperor, to represent to the Queen, in terms the most urgent, the fatal consequences which would attend the defection of England from the alliance, and to propose a new plan for the future conduct of the war, in which his Imperial Majesty would take upon himself a larger proportion of the burthen than had been required from his predecessors Leopold and Joseph. The remonstrances of his Highness, however, produced no effect; and during his residence in London, he had even the mortification to see twelve Peers created in one day, in order to secure a majority in favour of the Court, in the House of Lords. When the time arrived for opening the campaign, Prince Eugene nevertheless received positive assurances from the new General, that he would concur with him in a vigorous prosecution of the war; and when the Prince invested Quefnoy, the Duke of Ormond

Ormond undertook to cover the siege; But when the place was on the point of a surrender, his Highness was informed by the British Commander, that an armistice was agreed upon between the two Crowns of England and France; and that he was obliged, by his instructions, immediately to begin his march towards Dunkirk, in order to embark his forces for England. The Prince in vain expostulated with the Duke on the unparalleled baseness of this violation of national faith and honour, and the danger and ruin which might ensue upon this desertion. The Duke was immovable, and ordered the suspension of hostilities to be proclaimed by sound of trumpet: But the foreign troops in the pay of Great Britain, unanimously refused to obey his Grace's orders. Notwithstanding the departure of Ormond, Prince Eugene immediately on the surrender of Quesnoy invested Landreci; but the history of this campaign, after the separation of the British forces, is the recital of a continued series of losses and disasters. Marechal Villars, after defeating a part of the allied army at Denain, proceeded to Marchiennes, which contained the Prince's grand *depôt* of military stores. After the reduction of Marchiennes, he undertook the siege of Douay, which compelled the Prince to raise that of Landreci, without however being able to save Douay. And before the end of the campaign, the French also retook Quesnoy

noy and Bouchaine. So that the triumph of Villars was complete, and the allies were overwhelmed with shame and consternation. In the beginning of August, Mr. Secretary St. John, now created Viscount Bolingbroke, went *incognito* to the Court of Versailles, in order, by his presence, to obviate all obstacles to the treaty between France and England. And a total suspension of hostilities by sea and land, for the space of four months, was quickly agreed upon; but the treaty was not signed in form till the April succeeding. All the powers of the alliance, the Emperor excepted, at length acceded to the terms prescribed by England, which were much less advantageous than those voluntarily offered by France two years before. Louis saw the impolitic ardour with which the British Minister pursued and even courted peace, and wisely improved it to his own benefit. M. Mefnager, the original negotiator of the treaty, informs us, that when setting out from Paris, the King of France said to him, “ I am of opinion that Harley and his new party may stand in as much need of peace as of victory; and that they may want me, as much as I want them \*.” And he adds, that it was

\* The innate goodness of the Queen’s disposition, and her artless simplicity, are strongly marked by a circumstance related by M. Mefnager, who tells us, that on being introduced by a certain nobleman privately to the Queen at Kensington, her Majesty

was impossible to describe the transports of joy the King was in at the news of the dissolution of the Whig Parliament. A separate peace was at last concluded November 1713, at Al-Rastadt, between the Emperor and France; by which the former acknowledged the title of the King of Spain; and Naples, Milan, and the Low Countries, were ceded to the House of Austria.

A new Parliament being convened in December, debates ran, if possible, higher than ever, between the two State factions. These were occasioned chiefly by the fears and jealousies entertained by the Whigs, that the Protestant succession was in danger, from the secret designs of the Ministers of the Crown in favour of the Pretender; though it must be acknowledged, no very clear proof has yet been adduced that any such designs were seriously harboured. "It was easy to see," says M. Meznager, "that several who were near

Majesty said, "My Lord \* \* \* here has given me an account of what steps you have taken—You may let him hear what you have to say." M. Meznager bowed, but was prevented replying by the Queen's addressing herself to the nobleman, after which she again turned to M. Meznager, and said, "'Tis a good work; I pray God succeed you in it: I am sure I long for peace; I hate this dreadful work of blood:"—And shook her head two or three times as she retired, adding some words, which M. Meznager tells us he was extremely sorry he was not able to over-hear. Vide Meznager's Memoirs.

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the Queen, had inclinations favourable to the Court of St. Germain; but they could not make it practicable, as they all said, to take any steps in that interest, without hazard to *their own* : And I never found they had a true zeal for any thing else." OXFORD and BOLINGBROKE, the two principal leaders of administration, had long been at variance, and the dissension between them now became open and public. Oxford was a man not remarkable for capacity, but long and intimately conversant in business; close, plausible, subtle, jealous, intriguing, and ambitious. He aimed at engrossing the entire confidence of the Queen, and the sole management of affairs : And instead of admitting Bolingbroke to the rank of a coadjutor, he viewed him with the meanness of fear and suspicion ; as a competitor, by whom he dreaded to be eclipsed and perhaps supplanted. On the other hand, Bolingbroke finding himself regarded in the light of a rival, made no scruple to become so. This celebrated nobleman, exclusive of the exterior and personal advantages by which he was distinguished, was possessed of abilities of the first order, of manners the most captivating, of eloquence the most commanding. In almost every thing, the reverse of the Earl of Oxford ; his temper was open and generous ; his conduct, both in public and private life, high-spirited and magnanimous ; and his measures bold and decisive. Equally with  
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Oxford the slave of ambition, and less scrupulous in the means of gratifying it, there was good reason to fear lest a minister of this description, in order to secure the favour of the Sovereign, who cherished a secret but inveterate dislike to the House of Hanover, would engage with ardour in the prosecution of projects, which the phlegmatic caution of Oxford would deem romantic and impracticable, and which were also abhorrent from his feelings and principles. While Oxford entirely lost the confidence of the Tories, which indeed he never perfectly possessed, by his slowness, duplicity, and indecision; Bolingbroke gained ground, both with the Queen and the faction, by the superiority of his talents, his firmness and vigour. Resolute and daring, from that consciousness of genius which led him to place an entire reliance upon the resources of his own mind, he very early acquired, and ever after maintained, in a degree which no political leader since the death of Shaftesbury had been able to attain, the most surprising ascendancy over the opinions of all his political associates. It is difficult to conjecture, however, under what pretence or colour any attempt could have been made to subvert the Protestant succession, for which both parties publicly and uniformly professed the most zealous attachment. In the beginning of March, the Queen, whose health was much affected by the

violence of those parties which she found herself unable to controul, and the still more distressing animosities and contentions of her own ministers, went in person to the House of Lords; and after magnifying the advantages secured to England by the late treaty of peace, she observed, "That some persons had been so malicious as to insinuate, that the Protestant succession in the House of Hanover was in danger under her government; but that those who endeavoured to distract the minds of men with imaginary dangers, could only mean to disturb the public tranquillity." This declaration was much better received by the Commons, than in the House of Peers, where the Whigs were very numerous and powerful. The question being proposed by the Earl of Wharton, Whether the Protestant succession was in danger under the present administration? a very warm debate ensued; and the Lord Treasurer Oxford, laying his hand upon his heart, declared, that he had on so many occasions given such signal proofs of affection to the Protestant succession, that he was confident no member of that august assembly could ever mean to call it in question. The Protestant succession was at length voted out of danger by a small majority \*. The Earl of Wharton

\* Upon this occasion the Earl of Anglesea, who had the reputation of being at the head of the *Trimmers*, divided with  
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Wharton then moved, that an address should be presented to the Queen, to issue a proclamation, promising a reward to any person who should apprehend the Pretender, dead or alive; to which Lord Trevor very humanely and properly proposed to add, in case of his landing, or attempting to land, in Great Britain or Ireland. To the motion, thus mitigated and modified, the House agreed; and on its being presented to the Queen, she replied in the following terms: "My Lords, it would be a real strengthening to the succession in the House of Hanover, as well as a support to my government, that an end were put to those groundless fears and jealousies which have been so industriously promoted. I do not, at this time, see any occasion for such a proclamation; whenever I judge it to be necessary, I shall give my orders for having it issued." The next step which the never-ceasing jealousy of the Whigs led them to adopt, was, to persuade the Court of Herenhausen to order Baron Schutz, the Hanoverian

Whigs. And it has been shrewdly suggested, that the reason why so many of this class voted the Protestant succession to be in danger, was their firm persuasion that it was perfectly safe. "The art of the Whigs," says Lord Bolingbroke, "was to blend as undistinguishably as they could, all their party interests with those of the succession, and they made just the same factious use of the *supposed* danger of it, as the Tories had endeavoured to make some time before of the *supposed* danger of the Church.

Envoy, to demand of the Chancellor, a writ for the Electoral Prince as Duke of Cambridge, with a view to his residence in England. Of this design the Queen, however, expressed her disapprobation to the Princess Sophia, in terms so strong, that it was thought expedient to lay it aside. The death of the Electress taking place at this period, the Elector of Brunswic was, by an order of the Court, prayed for by name in all churches and chapels throughout England, as presumptive heir to the English Crown. In May, a Bill to prevent the growth of Schism was introduced; by which Dissenters were prohibited from all interference in the business of education. For though the evil effect was acknowledged to be without remedy, and therefore entitled to some indulgence, the evil cause, it was said, ought to be prevented, and was therefore entitled to none. Notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the Whigs, who were inflamed with a just indignation at this atrocious invasion of the natural rights of mankind, this detestable Bill passed through both Houses, and received the royal assent. This was however the last triumph of the Tory party, many of whom were undoubtedly disposed to have gone far greater lengths. But the Queen's constitution was now so entirely broken, that it was evident she approached towards the conclusion of her life: And the ministers of the Crown, in the alarming prospect

spect of her dissolution, thought of little else than their private interests and personal safety. Oxford and Bolingbroke were now so exasperated against each other, that they could not abstain from the most indecent and bitter altercation, even in the presence of the Queen. Not a single measure, however, was adopted at this critical period, by which it could be inferred that the Ministry entertained designs hostile to the Protestant succession. On the contrary, attempts having been made to enlist men for the service of the Pretender, a proclamation was immediately issued, promising a reward of 5000 l. for apprehending the Pretender, whenever he should land, or attempt to land, in Great Britain or Ireland. Both Houses voted an address of thanks for this proclamation; and Lord Bolingbroke himself brought in a Bill, denouncing the penalties of high treason against those who should enlist, or be enlisted, in the Pretender's service. On the 9th of July, the session was terminated by a speech from the throne, in which the Queen affirmed, that her chief concern was to preserve the Protestant religion, the liberty of her subjects, and the tranquillity of the kingdom. On the 27th July, the Earl of Oxford was unexpectedly divested of the staff of Treasurer; and Bolingbroke found himself elevated to the summit of power, by the sudden and total fall of his rival. This splendid pre-eminence, however, he

enjoyed only for a moment. The Queen, who was perceived to be extremely agitated from the time of the dismissal of Lord Oxford, never recovered her composure of mind ; but, as if altogether exhausted by incessant fatigue, chagrin, and vexation, she gradually sunk into a kind of lethargy, in which state she remained till Sunday morning August 1 (1714), when she expired, in the 50th year of her age, and 13th of her reign.

Whatever projects Bolingbroke might have in contemplation, they were entirely disconcerted by the firmness and spirit with which the leaders of the Whig party acted upon this occasion. A meeting of the Privy Council being convened when the Queen was on the verge of departure, they took their places at the Council-board without any regular summons, and immediately proceeded, by the most vigorous measures, to provide for the security of the kingdom. Orders were dispatched to several regiments of horse and dragoons to march towards the metropolis. Directions were given for equipping a fleet with all expedition. An express was sent off to the Elector of Hanover, signifying, that the Queen's life was despaired of, and desiring that he would, without delay, repair to Holland, where he would find a British squadron ready to convoy him to England. Instructions were at the same time dispatched to the Earl of Strafford, Ambassador at the Hague,

to demand from the States the performance of their engagements, as guarantees of the Protestant succession; and the heralds at arms were kept in waiting, in order to proclaim the new King, the instant the throne should become vacant. No symptoms of popular tumult or discontent however, much less of opposition, appeared on this great occasion; and whatever might be intended, it is certain nothing was effected by the late Queen and her ministers in favour of the Pretender.

The death of that Princess must notwithstanding, upon the whole, be regarded as a very seasonable and fortunate event. For, had Bolingbroke been fully established in the post of Prime Minister, it is impossible to ascertain the extent of the mischief which might eventually have resulted from the union of such uncommon talents with such a total want or disregard of principle. The Queen, however, merits our pity, at least as much as our censure. Her partiality for her own family, and her dislike of the House of Hanover, were natural and pardonable. The Queen's own political conduct, notwithstanding her high theoretical principles of government, was uniformly regulated by the strictest regard to the laws and liberties of the kingdom, for the welfare of which she entertained even a maternal solicitude: And, if ever she indulged the idea of causing the Crown, at her decease, to revert to the hereditary, and,

doubtless, as she imagined, the true and rightful claimant, it was certainly only on conditions, which, in her opinion, would have effectually secured both the Protestant religion, and the English constitution, from the hazard of future violation.

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N. B. This Introduction is transcribed, with little variation, from the II<sup>d</sup> vol. of "Essays, Philosophical, Historical, and Literary," as, from the inseparability of historic connection, more properly appertaining to the present Work: And it will therefore be omitted in the future republication of the Essays.



## K. G E O R G E I.

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**G**EORGE-LOUIS, Elector of Hanover, and head of the House of BRUNSWIC-LUNENBURG, derived his descent from the blood-royal of England by his mother Sophia, daughter of Frederic, Elector Palatine and King of Bohemia; who married Elizabeth of England, only daughter of James I. It is evident therefore, that the title of this Prince was founded solely on the choice of the Parliament, *i. e.* of the people or nation; and that the usual order of succession was entirely superseded. For *admitting* the male line of the House of Stuart to have been extinguished in the person of James II., the right of blood rested in the House of Savoy, descended from Henrietta Dutchess of Orleans, daughter of Charles I. And the Princess Sophia herself being the youngest daughter of the unfortunate Palatine, more than fifty descendants of that Prince prior in the order of succession were passed over in the Act of William,

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liam, which settled the Crown of England on the House of Hanover. So that the rights of the people were not only asserted, but exercised in their full extent : And the family upon the throne is indisputably *an elected family*, though the general law or rule of succession remains unaltered. The new Monarch was, at the period of his accession, in the 55th year of his age, being born the day before the restoration of K. Charles II. The uniform prudence with which this Prince had conducted himself throughout the conflicts of the late reign, the general respectability of his character, and the auspicious circumstances which attended his elevation, seemed to augur calm and prosperous days. The embers of civil discord and animosity were extinguished however only in appearance, and the violent measures which the King was unhappily persuaded to adopt, soon rekindled not only the torch of sedition but the flames of war. The kingdom might at this time be considered as divided with great nearness of equality into the two adverse factions of Whigs and Tories ; the latter of which, from the egregious indiscretion of the Whigs in the fatal business of Sacheverel, had recently acquired a great addition of strength and vigour. But it must not be imagined that all who were included in the appellation of Tories, who detested the principles, civil and religious, maintained by the Whigs, as destructive of the antient  
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constitution and orthodox faith, and who hated still more the persons of the Whigs than their principles, as their perpetual and implacable rivals for power, distinction, and popularity, were therefore attached as a party to the exiled family. Doubtless a great majority of them would have been seriously alarmed at any attempt to restore the son of the late King James to the throne, at least while he remained a Papist; and his notorious bigotry precluded almost every hope or expectation of his conversion to Protestantism. Previous to the æra of the Revolution, the speculative line of discrimination between the two grand factions of the State, now gradually fading into obscurity, was clearly and strongly marked. The WHIGS maintained civil government to be an institution of human origin and appointment, consonant indeed to the divine will, as essential to the order and happiness of the moral and rational creation. The powers vested in the civil magistrate they regarded therefore as a delegation or trust from the people: And it was a necessary consequence of this doctrine, that the individuals entrusted with these powers, were ultimately responsible to the people for the exercise of them, and liable to be degraded and punished for the abuse of them. They asserted that there were unalienable rights inherent in human nature, for the preservation of which, government was originally instituted; amongst the chief-

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est and most important of which, they accounted the right which every man possesses of worshipping God, not according to a decree of the State, but to the dictates of his own conscience. In other words, they maintained the principle of TOLERATION, not as a matter of favour, but of justice. And this principle was considered by them as violated, not only by laws professedly penal, but by any exclusion from the common rights and privileges of citizenship, founded not on any species of civil delinquency, but the mere unavoidable diversity of religious opinions. The TORIES, on the other hand, rejected these doctrines with vehement indignation and abhorrence, as subversive of the welfare, and even of the existence, of civil society. They asserted that government was expressly ordained of God, from whom alone Princes derive their authority, and to whom alone they were responsible for their actions—that to resist the will of the Sovereign, was in effect to resist the will of God—and that although, when the commands of the Sovereign were directly opposed to the commands of God, an active obedience could not be lawfully yielded; yet even in these extreme cases it was the duty of the subject quietly to submit to all the consequences of his non-compliance: And that passive obedience and non-resistance were at all times and in all cases right and obligatory, where active obedience became either criminal or impracticable. They  
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were far from denying that it was the duty of the Prince to consult and provide for the welfare and happiness of the people, as the great end of his government; but for any neglect or contempt of this duty, there was, as they asserted, no lawful remedy but humble petition and remonstrance. That the people had rights, they admitted; but these rights were not to be defended by force: In the number of these rights, however, they did not include the right of private judgment in religion. They conceived it to be the duty of individuals to acquiesce in that *formula* of doctrines, and to conform to that mode of worship, which the wisdom of the State had provided; that to oppose private to public opinion was in all cases presumptuous and unwarrantable; and in matters of religion more especially dangerous, and doubly culpable, as a contemptuous defiance of the united authority of church and state \*. Subsequent to the Revolution,

\* That this delineation of the principles by which the two great parties in the State were distinguished is accurate and just, may be demonstrated by an appeal to that perfect standard of Toryism and High-Churchism, the ever-memorable decree of the University of Oxford, passed in full Convocation, July 21, 1683, and presented to the King (Charles II.), July 24. "The VICE CHANCELLOR, Doctors, Proctors, and Masters, regent and not-regent, met in Convocation, decree, judge, and declare, to the honour of the holy and undivided Trinity, the preservation of the Catholic truth in the Church, and that the King's Majesty may be secured from the machinations of treacherous

lution, however, in which great transaction the Tories had taken a very laudable and decided part, they appear to have been much embarrassed to maintain the credit and consistency of their system. At the trial of Sacheverel the Duke of Leeds, so famous under his former title of Earl of Danby,

cherous Heretics and Schismatics—all and every of the following propositions (*cum multis aliis*), to be false, seditious, and impious, and destructive of all government in Church and State.

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“ All civil government is derived originally from the people.

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“ That there is a mutual compact, tacit or express, between a Prince and his subjects, and that if he perform not his duty, they are discharged from theirs.

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“ That if lawful governors become tyrants, or govern otherwise than by the laws of God and Man they ought to do, they forfeit the right they had unto their government.

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“ The Sovereignty of England is in the three estates—viz. King, Lords, and Commons; the King having but a co-ordinate or subordinate power.

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“ Self-preservation is the fundamental law of nature, and supersedes all others whensoever they stand in competition with it.

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“ There is no obligation upon Christians to passive obedience, when the Prince commands any thing contrary to the laws.

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“ It is not lawful for superiors to impose any thing in the worship of God that is not antecedently necessary.

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“ Wicked Kings and Tyrants ought to be put to death; and if the Judges and inferior Magistrates will not do their office, the power of the sword devolves to the people.”

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and who had himself given a noble proof of his patriotism by signing the invitation to the Prince of Orange, scrupled not to declare the Revolution to be an event, however urgent the political necessity of it, utterly irreconcilable with any just principles of government; that those who examined it least therefore were its best friends; and that a veil ought to be thrown over that transaction, instead of quoting it as a precedent fit and proper for imitation \*. Many of this party satisfied themselves with the notion of an abdication on the part of the Monarch, and asserted with Sacheverel himself, in defiance of facts, that the nation did not resist. The generality of the Tories, however, in-

\* Nothing is more common or more easy than for persons who are far removed from the embarrassments and temptations incident to those who occupy distinguished stations in public life, to censure the least deviation from the rigid line of rectitude, in terms of harsh and indiscriminate severity; thus indirectly asserting their own claim to the praise of immaculate and incorruptible integrity, beyond the possibility of *confutation*; though there may perhaps arise a *suspicion* that, in the hour of trial and danger, the patriotism and public spirit of the accused might be found beyond all comparison to surpass that of their dogmatical and virulent accusers, who would fain persuade us that there is no virtue in men whose conduct indicates any mixture of human weakness and infirmity.—These observations are particularly applicable to the Earl of Danby, who more than redeemed his political errors and delinquencies by the glorious ardour with which, at the extreme hazard of his life and fortune, he concurred in the original formation, and subsequent happy and successful accomplishment, of the ever-memorable Revolution.

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cluding almost the whole body of the Clergy, highly offended with the unexpected advancement of the Prince of Orange to the throne, adopted the famous distinction of a King *de facto*, and a King *de jure*. And by yielding a passive obedience to the Monarch in possession, they flattered themselves that they consulted their interest without abandoning their principle. After the death of the Duke of Gloucester, the MARCELLUS of England, the national detestation of Popery, which equally pervaded all parties, induced the Tories to acquiesce in the parliamentary settlement of the Crown on the House of Hanover, as the least of two great evils, without appearing very solicitous, after the lapse of so many years, to reconcile their practice with a theory, the original uncontaminated dignity of which it was no longer possible for them to maintain. The Whigs, on the contrary, had ever distinguished themselves by the ardour of their zeal for the Hanover succession. Nor would the strength of their attachment to that House have been shaken or impaired by any recantations or protestations, however frequent or solemn, on the part of the Pretender. Under the banners of this party, the Dissenters of all denominations ranged themselves with eagerness; and in a political view they might be considered as directly opposed to the Jacobites, who regarded the Sectaries with peculiar malignity, and who, under the general



neral denomination of Tories, fought for occasions of subverting the present establishment, with anxiety as incessant as the Dissenters to fortify and secure it. Under these circumstances, it is no wonder that the King should entertain a strong predilection for the Whigs; and being educated in the principles of Lutheranism, which bear a nearer analogy to Presbyterianism than to Episcopacy, he regarded the Dissenters with favour, as men whose political and religious opinions rendered them his firmest and most unalterable friends; and it is said that the unfortunate fate of King Charles I. being once mentioned in his presence, as a proof of their implacable animosity to Kings, he replied with a pleasant indifference, "that he had nothing to fear, for that the King-killers were all on his side." Convinced that no danger was to be apprehended on the death of the Queen, either from foreign or domestic enemies, he appeared in no haste to leave Herenhausen; and it was not till the middle of September that he arrived in England, which exhibited every-where the appearance of satisfaction and tranquillity. The King of France, of whom alone any jealousy could be entertained, ordered, on the first intelligence of the demise of the Queen, M. D'Ibberville, his Envoy Extraordinary at the Court of London, to declare, in the most explicit terms, his resolution to adhere to the terms of the late treaty, and his sincere desire to maintain the most perfect

fect amity and good understanding with the new Sovereign : And Count Konigseg, the Imperial Ambassador, offered, in the name of the Emperor his master, any number of troops that might be wanted at this crisis, to support the authority of government. Previous to the departure of the King from Hanover, notwithstanding the present fair and flattering appearances, he had transmitted orders to the Regency \*, consisting of the seven great Officers of State, and certain other per-

\* For the mere purpose of embarrassing the Whigs, a motion had been made in Parliament by the Tories, A. D. 1705, for an address to the Queen, beseeching her Majesty to invite the Princess Sophia, presumptive heiress to the Crown, to reside within the realm. The Whigs raised their credit extremely with the Queen, to whom this motion was very offensive, by the strenuous opposition which they hesitated not to give to it ; and in order to preserve their credit with the nation, a Bill was brought in, under the sanction of the Whig Ministry, for securing the Protestant succession ; by which, in case of the Queen's demise, the executive power of government was vested in the persons holding the offices of Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Lord President, Lord Privy Seal, Lord High Admiral, and Lord Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench, in conjunction with certain other persons, nominated as Regents by the successor in three lists to be sealed up and deposited with the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, and the Minister residentiary of Hanover. This Bill the Tories in their turn opposed with violence ; but it passed by a great majority, and with the general approbation of the nation ; and the Tories, by their injudicious conduct in the whole of this transaction, afforded their rivals a great and decisive advantage.

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sons appointed in virtue of an act passed in the late reign, to remove Lord Bolingbroke from his post of Secretary of State, and to seal up the doors of his office. This was ominous of the change of ministry, which took place immediately on his assumption of the regal power. And it was no less absolute and decisive than that which preceded it, A. D. 1710. The Earl of Halifax was made First Commissioner of the Treasury, the King refusing to create a Lord High Treasurer; not chusing, as he said, that there should be any greater man in the kingdom than himself. Lord Townshend and General Stanhope were nominated Secretaries of State, and to them was chiefly committed the direction of foreign affairs. The Earl of Nottingham, the only Tory admitted into the new administration, was declared President of the Council, the former council being previously dissolved. Lord Cowper was reinstated in the high office of Chancellor; the command of the army restored to the Duke of Marlborough; the privy seal given to the Earl of Wharton, and Lord Sunderland appointed to the government of Ireland. Hitherto no more was done than might have been with certainty expected: No more than the attachments and even the interests of the new government might reasonably perhaps be thought to require. But it quickly appeared that measures of great severity, amount-

ing to almost a general proscription of the Tory party, were determined upon by the Whigs, who were now in full and exclusive possession of the government ; and whose power seemed established on a basis so firm, as might, if the spirit of equity and moderation had influenced their councils, have inclined them to a milder and more temperate system of policy. The Parliament, which assembled in March 1715, was composed almost entirely of Whigs, who were well disposed to second the most vindictive measures which could be suggested by the administration : “ For the ministers,” says Lord Bolingbroke, “ whose true interest it must always be to calm the minds of men, were upon this occasion the tribunes of the people.”

The royal proclamation convoking this assembly contained in it the following indiscreet expressions : “ It having pleased Almighty God, by most remarkable steps of his providence, to bring us safe to the crown of this kingdom, notwithstanding the designs of evil men, we do not doubt that our loving subjects will, in the ensuing elections, have particular regard to such as shewed a firmness to the Protestant succession, *when it was in danger.*” This was styled by Sir William Wyndham, a member conspicuous for his parliamentary talents, no less than his zealous attachment to the Tory interest, “ an unprecedented and unwarrantable

rantable exertion of the prerogative, and of dangerous consequence to the very being of parliaments;" for which, having refused to apologize, he was, by order of the House, reprimanded by the Speaker, who intimated that it was owing to the extraordinary lenity of the House, that he was not committed to the Tower. Sir William Wyndham in reply declared, "that he was neither conscious of offering any indignity to his Majesty, nor of violating the privileges of that House; and that he had therefore no thanks to give those gentlemen, who, under pretence of lenity, had brought this censure upon him." This incident sufficiently indicated the temper of the House, the attention of which was however quickly engaged by far greater objects, in consequence of official information from General Stanhope and Mr. Walpole, a man of distinguished ability, and who had in the late reign suffered severely for his attachment to the Whig interest, under the recollection of which he yet smarted\*, that the papers found in the office of the late

\* In the session of Parliament 1711, Mr. Walpole, on pretence of a *douceur* of 1000 guineas said to have been received by him, or with his consent, from the profits of a certain government contract made by him when Secretary at War, was voted guilty of an high breach of trust and notorious corruption, was committed prisoner to the Tower, and expelled the House, and a prosecution ordered to be instituted against him.

Lord Bolingbroke would afford ample ground for impeaching various of the members of the former administration, which they affirmed to be the most wicked and corrupt that had ever sat at the helm of affairs in this country. This nobleman, who had hitherto preserved the appearance of great serenity; attending and even taking a part, as usual, in the debates of the House of Lords; now withdrew with great precipitation to the Continent. In the beginning of April General Stanhope laid before the House of Commons all the papers relating to the negotiations of the late ministry with France, which were immediately referred to a select committee of twenty-one persons; and in June Mr. Walpole, as chairman, made the report, in which the secret preliminaries signed with M. Mesnager, the suspension of arms, the seizure of Ghent and Bruges by the Duke of Ormond, Lord Bolingbroke's journey to Paris, and separate conferences with the French ministry; in a word, all the measures which preceded or facilitated the conclusion of the peace of Utrecht, were stated as highly criminal. And Mr. Walpole, boldly asserting that to vindicate these measures was in a manner to share the guilt of them, terminated the report by impeaching Henry Lord Viscount Bolingbroke of HIGH TREASON; and Lord Coningsby immediately standing up, exclaimed, "The worthy Chairman has

has impeached the hand, but I impeach the head —I impeach Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer of high treason." On the 21st June General Stanhope impeached the Duke of Ormond of high treason; and the day following Mr. Aislaby impeached the Earl of Strafford of high crimes and misdemeanors. And such was the temper of the House, that these impeachments were for the most part carried without difficulty, and almost without a division. It is notwithstanding very hard to discover upon what constitutional grounds any of these impeachments could be voted, and much less how the charges contained in them could amount to the crime of high treason. The measures adopted by the late Tory ministry were, it must be allowed, disgraceful to the reputation, incompatible with the engagements, and in some points injurious to the interests, of the kingdom. But as nothing was done without the sanction and concurrence of Parliament, on what pretence of justice ministers could be punished for carrying into effect measures of state policy which had received either the previous or subsequent approbation of the Legislature, it seems difficult or rather impossible to devise. To mislead or delude the Parliament into a mistaken approbation of any specific measures of government by defective or erroneous information, is indeed an high offence: But to execute measures

approved by the Legislature, in consequence of full and sufficient information, cannot be criminal in individuals holding offices of responsibility, because it is their duty to conform to the public will; and to the Legislature itself it would be solecism and absurdity to impute criminality. Of the impeachment of the Duke of Ormond in particular, a nobleman of unblemished integrity, of honour without a stain, equally distinguished by courtesy and courage; no less the ornament of his country than its defence; the injustice appears gross and manifest. Of all the charges adduced against the late ministry, the suspension of arms, which was productive of consequences so disastrous and fatal, was one of the most, or rather was incomparably the most serious, and of the greatest magnitude. But it cannot be pretended that the Duke of Ormond could or ought to exercise any discretion in this case: His orders were peremptory and positive. And for any military commander to assume, under such circumstances, a dispensing power, and to presume to act in open contradiction to the authority from which he derives his commission, would indeed call for and justify a parliamentary impeachment. The Duke, seeing the spirit of faction and revenge so strongly predominate in the proceedings against him, followed Lord Bolingbroke to the Continent; and both these noblemen, irritated by persecution,



secution, and destitute of resource, entered into the service of the court at St. Germaine's, now removed to Commerci in Lorraine, which received by this means a dangerous addition of talents and strength\*. On his arrival in France Lord Bolingbroke apologized in a letter to his friend

\* Though Lord Bolingbroke suffered himself to be engaged by earnest solicitation in the service of the Pretender, and even accepted the seals as Secretary of State to that shadow of a King, while, as he expresses it, "the smart of a bill of attainder tingled in every vein;" on perceiving the hopeless condition of his affairs, and the weakness and distraction of his counsels, he willingly received, in about six months, his dismissal from this unenviable pre-eminence. It is a curious circumstance, that on leaving the Pretender's service this nobleman had articles of impeachment formally exhibited against him, branched out into the several heads of treachery, incapacity, and neglect: To which he made an elaborate reply, expressing, at the close of it, his obligation to the Pretender, for "cutting by this means that Gordian knot asunder, by which he had conceived himself for ever bound to his interests, and which would have effectually precluded every idea of making his peace at home;"—an event which from this time became the object of his incessant intrigues and solicitations. The Duke of Ormond, who was much more in earnest in his attachment to the exiled family, and who disdained to court a reconciliation with that country by which he considered himself as treated with the highest injustice and ingratitude, retained, during the remainder of his life, his station in the Pretender's court, around the cheerless and contracted circle of which he alone reflected some scattered rays of lustre. Previous to his departure from London he visited, for the last time, the Earl of Oxford, who dissuaded him from flying with as much earnestness as he in-

friend Lord Lansdowne for his sudden and abrupt departure: "You will," said he, "excuse me when you know that I had certain and repeated information, from some who are in the secret of affairs, that a resolution was taken by those who have power to execute it, to pursue me to the scaffold. Had there been the least reason to hope for a fair and open trial, after having been already prejudged unheard by two Houses of Parliament, I should not have declined the strictest examination. I challenge the most inveterate of my enemies to produce one instance of a criminal correspondence, or the least corruption of any part of the administration in which I was concerned." The Earl of Oxford, however, conscious of the steadiness of his attachment to the House of Hanover, of the King's real obligation to him, and of his knowledge of that obligation, determined to abide the fury of this political tempest; and the impeachment preferred by the Commons being followed by a motion in the House of Peers for his commitment, he rose to speak in his defence, observing "that the whole charge might be reduced to the negotiation and conclusion of the peace. That the nation wanted a peace," he said, "no one would deny; and he averred, that the conditions upon which it was made were as good as treated Oxford to make his escape. He at length parted from the Earl with these words: "Farewell, Oxford, without a head." To which Oxford replied, "Farewell, Duke, without a Dutchy."

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the obstinate and perverse reluctance of the Allies to concur in the Queen's measures would admit: That it had been approved by two successive Parliaments: That he had acted by the express commands of his sovereign, without offending against any known law; and being justified in his conscience, was unconcerned for the life of an insignificant old man." The Earl was attended to the Tower by a prodigious concourse of people, shouting, "High Church, Ormond and Oxford for ever!" And the riots and tumults which ensued in various parts of the kingdom, fully justified and verified the expression of the Earl of Anglesey, in the debate of this day, "that it was to be feared such violent measures would make the sceptre shake in the King's hands;" for which the House in its wisdom insisted upon his making an apology. When the articles of impeachment were exhibited against the Earl of Strafford, that nobleman complained of the arbitrary and illegal seizure of his papers, and desired a competent time to prepare for his defence; requiring for this purpose duplicates both of such as had been laid before the Committee of Secrecy, and of those remaining in the hands of Government. This request, to the disgrace of the ruling party, was vehemently opposed, until the Earl of May represented "that in all civilized nations, all courts of judicature, *the Inquisition excepted*, allowed the persons arraigned all that was necessary to their justification; and that the House of

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Peers of Great Britain would not, he was persuaded, in a case of this nature, do any thing contrary to that honour and equity, for which they were so justly renowned through Europe." The House, thus suddenly and powerfully awakened to a sense of their own dignity, resolved that the Earl should be allowed copies of such papers as he might have occasion to use in his defence. Bills of attainder, in default of personal appearance, passed against the Duke of Ormond and Lord Viscount Bolingbroke. Their names and armorial bearings were erased from the rolls of the Peerage, by order of the House; and the Duke's achievement as Knight of the Garter taken down from St. George's Chapel at Windsor: And from the address of the Speaker to the King at the close of the session, which was protracted to the end of the summer, it does not appear that the anger of the House had suffered any abatement. "Your Commons," said the Speaker, Sir Spencer Compton\*, "could not see without the utmost indignation the glories of her late Majesty's reign tarnished by a treacherous cessation of arms—the faith of treaties violated—that ancient probity for which the English nation had been justly renowned throughout all ages, exposed to scorn and contempt.—Such was the condition of the kingdom, when it pleased the divine Providence to call your Majesty to the

\* Afterwards created Earl of Wilmington.

throne of your ancestors, under whose auspicious reign, your Commons behold with pleasure the glory of the Plantagenets, your Majesty's royal ancestors, revive, and have an unbounded prospect of the continuance of this happiness to the latest posterity." A very great part of the nation being much inflamed with the late extraordinary proceedings, the partizans of the Pretender were incited to exert themselves with redoubled vigour and activity; and it was determined at one and the same time to take up arms in both kingdoms against the Government. In the month of September, the Earl of Mar set up the standard of rebellion, and proclaimed the Pretender, under the style and title of King James III. at Castletown in Scotland, and soon collected an army of ten thousand men. The vigilance of the Government in a great measure rendered abortive the designs concerted by the adherents of the House of Stuart on the south of the Tweed. The Habeas Corpus Act being suspended, several noblemen were committed to the Tower, amongst whom were Lord Lansdowne and the Earl of Jersey, who had engaged to join the Duke of Ormond on his intended landing in the West. By previous consent of the lower House of Parliament, Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Harvey, and various other members of that House, were seized and committed to close custody, the bail of the Duke  
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of Somerset, father-in-Law to Sir William Wyndham, being peremptorily refused, and the Duke himself, for some indiscreet expressions of resentment, removed from his place of Master of the Horse. Notwithstanding, however, these spirited and resolute measures of prevention, the Earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Foster appeared at the head of an armed force in Northumberland, and proclaimed the Pretender at Warkworth, Penrith, Lancaster, and other places, in their progress to the southward. At their arrival at Preston, November 12, they were attacked by the King's forces under the Generals Willes and Carpenter, who investing the town on all sides, compelled them to surrender at discretion: And the very same day a bloody battle was fought, between the Earl of Mar and the Duke of Argyle, at Sheriff-moor, near Dumblaine in Scotland. The Duke, apprized of the intention of the Earl of Mar to cross the Forth, in order to join the insurgents in the Lowlands, hastened to secure the passes of that river, which he himself crossed at Stirling, and immediately took possession, with a force not exceeding 4000 men, of the heights of Dumblaine. The Earl of Mar now advanced to the attack; and the Clans of Glengary and Clanronald, which formed part of the enemies right wing, rushed down upon the Royalists, sword in hand, with such determined and irresistible impetuosity, that the left wing of  
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the King's army was in a short time entirely broke, and General Whetham, who commanded it, carried the news of his own defeat with incredible expedition to Stirling—declaring the ruin of the whole army to be inevitable. In the mean time, the Duke of Argyle, who commanded the right wing in person, charged the enemy with the most heroic ardor, and drove them before him, about two miles, as far as the Loch of Allen, though they repeatedly attempted to rally. On his return from this pursuit, he was unexpectedly confronted by the victorious rebels on their return from the pursuit of Whetham; and each army found itself possessed of the station occupied, in the early part of the engagement, by the adversary. In this posture they remained till evening, when the rebels returned to Ardoch, and the Duke to Dumblaine; and next day marching back to the field of battle, he carried off the wounded, and several pieces of cannon left by the enemy. Though the engagement was thus indecisive, all the honour, as well as advantage, of the fight, rested with the Duke of Argyle, who, with a force so inferior, had entirely disconcerted the schemes of his antagonist by the most intrepid personal exertions. Various successes were obtained also by the Royalists in the northern parts of Scotland, where the loss of Inverness was very severely felt by the rebels; and Argyle being now joined by large reinforcements,

it was with difficulty Mar kept the field till the arrival of the Pretender in person, who landed at Peter-head Dec. 26th, and immediately issued various proclamations: One of which was for summoning a Convention of the Estates; a second ordering all fencible men to repair to his standard; and a third fixing a day for his coronation. He cherished, however, no sanguine hope of success: "For me," said he in a speech addressed to his friends convened in council, "it will be no new thing if I am unfortunate: My whole life, even from my cradle, has shewn a constant series of misfortunes, and I am prepared, if so it please God, to suffer the threats of my enemies and yours." In a very short time the folly and rashness of the enterprise became so apparent, that on receiving intelligence of the approach of the Duke of Argyle, he resolved to embark on board a French ship lying in the harbour of Montrose, accompanied by the Earls of Mar and Melfort, which stretching over to Norway, in order to avoid pursuit, and coasting along the shores of Germany and Holland, arrived in five days at Graveline: The rebel army retiring northward, quietly dispersed without making any farther effort, or receiving the slightest molestation. The extreme misconduct and want of capacity apparent in the whole of this enterprise, was decisive of the personal disposition and character of the claimant of the British crown; and the impo-  
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litic violence, which had hitherto predominated in the counsels of the new Monarch, was happily compensated by the wretched imbecility of his rival. "Should the Pretender ever be restored, it was easy," Lord Bolingbroke tells us, "to see that the Court of St. James's would be constituted in the same manner as that of St. Germaine's." On being presented with the draft of a declaration to be dispersed in England, he took exception against several passages, and particularly those by which a direct promise of securing the churches of England and Scotland was made. "He was *told*," he said, "that he could not, in conscience, make such a promise;" and, on being farther urged to compliance, asked with warmth, "why the Tories were so desirous to have him, if they expected those things from him which his religion did not allow?" And after consulting his confidants and casuists, the papers were at length printed, with amendments which exhibited the extreme of Jesuitical prevarication, insomuch that Lord Bolingbroke absolutely refused to counter-sign them. Intoxicated with superstition and enthusiastic zeal, all efforts were quickly perceived to be lost on a man whose obstinacy and prejudice were fortified by the native narrowness of his understanding. "His religion," says the nobleman just mentioned, "is not founded on the love of virtue, and the detestation of vice, on a sense of that obedience which is due to the will

will of the Supreme Being, or of those obligations which creatures formed to live in a mutual dependence on one another lie under. The spring of his whole conduct is *fear*; he has all the superstition of a Capuchin, but I found in him no tincture of the religion of a Prince; and I conversed with very few among the Roman Catholics themselves, who did not think him too much a Papist." Although the rebellion in both kingdoms was thus happily and speedily suppressed, the clemency of the King did not appear so conspicuous as might have been wished, and reasonably expected. The Lords Derwentwater, Nithisdale, and Nairne, with divers other noblemen, being tried in Westminster Hall, received sentence of death, Earl Cowper presiding as Lord High Steward. And notwithstanding the affecting and urgent supplications of the Countesses of Derwentwater and Nithisdale, and Lady Nairne, who threw themselves at the King's feet, and implored his mercy, no mitigation of the sentence could be obtained; and very many of the lower classes of the people fell a sacrifice to the fatal delusion of those mistaken principles which led them to engage in this revolt \*, which might, in

\* For the following curious anecdote we are indebted to the Rev. Mr. Macaulay's ingenious topographical History of the Parish of Claybrooke in Leicestershire: One Paul, a clergyman, and Vicar of Orton upon the Hill in that county, was tried and convicted

in all human probability have been easily prevented by the adoption of a more equitable and generous policy. "Certain it is," says Lord Bolingbroke, "if milder measures had been pursued, that the Tories would never have universally embraced Jacobitism: The violence of the Whigs forced them into the arms of the Pretender, and dyed the royal ermines in blood." The King was notwithstanding of a disposition by no means harsh or implacable. On the contrary, it was with extreme hesitation and reluctance that he concurred in the measures which he was assured were necessary to his safety. And we are told, that when Lord Somers, who in a state of great corporeal infirmity still retained his wonted powers of mind, was informed by Lord Townshend, with much exultation, that the King had at length consented to all that was required of him, this aged and venerable patriot asked him with great emotion, and shedding many tears, whether they meant to re-

convicted, A. D. 1715, of high treason, he having joined the rebels at Preston in Lancashire, and suffered, with the most undaunted resolution, the utmost rigour of the law. On the Sunday previous to his departure he preached a sermon at his own parish church, from Ezek. xxi. 26, 27. "Thus saith the Lord God, Remove the diadem, and take off the crown. Exalt him that is low, and abase him that is high. I will overturn, overturn, overturn, and it shall be no more, until he come whose right it is, and I will give it unto him."

vive the proscriptions of Marius and Sylla \*. The ministry, perceiving and probably resenting the general discontent and disaffection of the people to

\* "All the traditional accounts of this nobleman," says Mr. Walpole, now Lord Orford, who has delineated his character with great felicity, "the historians of the last age, and its best authors, represent him as the most incorrupt Lawyer and the honestest Statesman; as a master-orator, a genius of the finest taste, and as a patriot of the noblest and most extensive views; as a man, who dispensed blessings by his life, and planned them for posterity. Mr. Addison, who has drawn a laboured but diffuse and feeble character of him in the *Freeholder*, tells us that he gained great esteem with Queen Anne, who had conceived many unreasonable prejudices against him. Mr. Addison might as well have said that the Queen had at first disbelieved, and was afterwards converted to Sir Isaac Newton's system of comets. Her Majesty was full as good a judge of astronomy as of Lord Somers's merits. The momentous times in which he lived gave Lord Somers opportunities of displaying the extent of his capacity, and the patriotism of his heart. The excellent balance of our constitution never appeared in a clearer light than with relation to this Lord, who, though impeached by a misguided House of Commons, with all the intemperate folly that at times disgraced the free states of Greece, yet had full liberty to vindicate his innocence, and manifest an integrity which could never have shone so bright unless it had been juridically aspersed. In this country happily the factious and the envious have not a power of condemning by a shell which many of them cannot sign." To these excellent observations it may be permitted to add, that when we reflect on the firm and undaunted stand made by the House of Lords on this and other interesting occasions against the democratic fury of the Commons,

to a government which willingly concealed even from itself the desire of vengeance by which it was actuated, under the veil of loyalty and patriotism, now found or imagined the necessity of adopting a measure for the preservation of the public safety, which has been ever considered as

Commons, we shall not be forward to applaud the wisdom of those by whom that House was once voted, or of those who are now ready to pronounce it, useless. That there should exist one sovereign will only in a state, is certain; but the legislative body in which this will resides may, by a just and wise organization, contain within itself a principle of vigorous collision and controul. But we have lately heard much from certain presumptuous speculatists on the science of government, of the ridiculous folly and absurdity of permitting, under a free constitution, any portion of hereditary authority—or, to adopt their own phraseology, “hereditary nonsense,” to exist, however limited or modified—Though it is remarkable, that previous to these recent discoveries in politics, wisdom was ever accounted the grand characteristic feature of Aristocracy, as power of Monarchy, and public spirit of Democracy. And of the justness of this political axiom, not to appeal to antient times, the celebrated republics of Venice and Berne exhibit at this day striking and obvious examples. Nor are the reasons,—the permanent causes of this permanent effect,—difficult to develope: But at present in politics, as at no very distant period in philosophy, a pretended *common sense*, made up of audacity of assertion, and insolence of abuse, is to supersede all inductions of reason, knowledge, and experience. The harshness of this censure must however be qualified with the acknowledgement that in the writings now alluded to are to be found many important and interesting truths, expressed in language peculiarly striking and energetic.

the highest and most unconstitutional exertion of parliamentary authority attempted since the æra of the Revolution ; and if we except the Act of Henry VIII. declaring the proclamations of the Crown equal in validity to Acts of Parliament, and the Perpetuity Act of Charles I. ; it may not be too much to affirm, since the first existence of Parliaments. This was no other than the introduction of the famous *Septennial Bill*, in the session of 1716, by which the Parliament not only assumed a power of prolonging the duration of future Parliaments, but even its own ; and being elected by the nation for three years, they elected themselves for four years more. As the discretion vested in Parliament has however no precise limits, no one has ventured formally or judicially to impeach the validity of this Act ; and it has been truly urged in its favour, that it was in fact agreeable to the sentiments of a great and respectable part of the nation, who had long seen and deplored the evils attending the frequent recurrence of parliamentary elections under the present miserably corrupt, though long-established, modes of election ; and who were convinced of the danger which must eventually have arisen from the dissolution of the present Parliament at a juncture so critical. The Bill, which originated in the House of Peers, was opposed with great ability by divers noblemen, and in particular by the Earl of Nottingham, who, disgusted and provoked by the intemperate conduct of the administration,

nistraton, had now quitted his connections with the Whigs. This nobleman observed, " that frequent Parliaments were of the essence of the English constitution, and were sanctioned by the practice of ages; that the Members of the Lower House were delegated by the body of the nation, for a certain term of years, at the expiration of which, they were no longer the representatives of the people; that by thus lengthening, at their own pleasure, the duration of their own authority, they deprived the people of the only remedy, which the wisdom of our ancestors had provided, against the ignorance and corruption of those who might be tempted to betray the trust reposed in them; that as to the pretence of adding energy or stability to the foreign transactions or projected alliances of Government, what prince or state could rationally entrust us with the care of their interests, when we appeared so ready to abandon our own? that the preamble of the Bill itself might suffice to deter them from entering into engagements with our Government, when they understood by it that the Popish and Jacobite faction was so powerful as to threaten destruction to the present establishment; and that the Government acknowledged its weakness to be such, as to make so extraordinary a provision necessary for its safety; when it appeared that the nation was not to be trusted, and that the affections of the King's subjects were restricted

within the limits of the House of Commons. He affirmed, that a long Parliament would encourage every species of corruption in every class of the community; that the value of a seat would bear a determinate proportion to the legal duration of Parliaments, and the purchase would rise accordingly; that a long Parliament would both enhance the temptations, and multiply the opportunities, of a vicious ministry, to undermine the integrity and independency of Parliaments far beyond what could occur, if they were short and frequent; that the reasons urged for prolonging the duration of this Parliament to seven years, would probably be as strong, and by perseverance in the same impolitic conduct, might be made much stronger before the end of that term, for continuing and even perpetuating their legislative power." When this Bill was transmitted to the Commons, it had to encounter an opposition still more vehement and formidable. No sooner was it announced to the House, by two of the Judges sent from the Peers, that their Lordships had passed a Bill for enlarging the time of the continuance of Parliaments, to which they desired their concurrence, than Lord Guernsey moved to reject the Bill, without reading it. The House, however, determined by a great majority to receive it: And the Bill being a first and second time read, Mr. Shippen arose to oppose the commitment of it. He commenced  
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his observations with remarking, “ that he too well knew the hazard attached to every unguarded expression in that House, to venture to say, that by any measures already taken,—alluding to the late great augmentation of the land forces,—we have paved the way to a despotic and military government. Such reflections, indeed, might perhaps be pardoned from persons without doors, who are not able to enter into the depth and wisdom of our counsels; and who presume to censure what they cannot comprehend. But the present Bill is yet unpassed, and we have as yet a right to investigate its merits with freedom. It has been urged, that the disaffection of the people is so great, and the enemies of the Government both at home and abroad so powerful, that a new election, at this period, may be destructive of its peace, and even of its safety. If this argument be applied to the Ministry, it is enough to reply,—that it is no concern of ours, whether they have rendered themselves odious to the people or not—They may be destroyed, and the Government subsist and flourish. But if it be applied to his Majesty, no argument could be offered so injurious to his honor. How is it that, in the infancy of his reign, he hath deprived himself of the love and affection of a people who so lately received him with every expression of joy? But admitting the fact, is this the way to extinguish the discontents already existing, or will it not rather

ther increafe and create fresh difcontents? Agreeably to the law as it now ftands, a diffolution will not be neceffary for a year and a half; and can national difcontents be imagined to exift fo long under fo wife, fo excellent, and fo indulgent an adminiftration as we now enjoy? Another reafon for paffing this Bill is, that it may encourage our antient allies to enter into new treaties, which, under the actual conftitution of things, they may hesitate or refuse to do. In order therefore to obtain the favour and friendship of thofe nations, in whole fupport we have on fo many occafions lavifhed our treafure and our blood; we muft, it feems, alter the prefent frame of our conftitution! What emotions of indignation muft not the infolence of this demand excite.—efpecially if it happen to be urged by a ftate which owes its very being to England, and which continues to fubfift as a fovereign power by our aid and protection! Sir, His Majefty, as King of Great Britain, is the arbiter of Europe, and may dictate to other nations, who will for their own fakes court his friendship, and who have always found their account in the alliance of the crown which he now wears. The expence attending frequent elections has been alfo mentioned. But this is an argument which merits no attention. Every Gentleman is a judge of his own circumftances, and knows how far they are competent to the neceffary expences of an election; for

for I will not suppose that the advocates of this Bill can mean to extend this argument to *corrupt expences*, when the incorrupt, unbiaſſed, and conſtitutional mode in which the election of the preſent Parliament was conducted, is ſo *notorious*. The manner in which this Bill has been introduced into the Houſe, is itſelf a ſufficient reaſon for its rejection. It is ſent from the LORDS; and as it relates merely to ourſelves, I apprehend it to be inconſiſtent with our honour to receive it. Our predeceſſors have ſhewn a determination to reſiſt all attempts to innovate on their privileges; and ſhall this glorious Houſe of Commons be content humbly to model themſelves at the pleaſure of the Lords? Shall we tamely and meanly acquieſce in an attack that ſtrikes at the very foundation of our authority? But however unlimited our complaiſance, I humbly conceive we have it not, in our power to conſent to this Bill; for I cannot diſcover by what rule of reaſon or law, we, who are only repreſentatives, can enlarge, to our own advantage, the authority delegated to us—or that by virtue of ſuch delegated authority, we can deſtroy the fundamental rights of our conſtitution. This Houſe has no legiſlative authority, but what it derives from the people. The members of this aſſembly were choſen under the Triennial Act. Our truſt is therefore a triennial truſt, and if we extend it beyond the ſtriſt legal duration, we ceaſe from  
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that instant to be the trustees of the people, and are our own electors. From that instant, we act by an unwarrantable assumption of power, and take upon us to create a new constitution. For though it is a received maxim in civil science, that the supreme legislature cannot be bound, yet an exception is necessarily implied, that it is restrained from subverting the foundation on which it stands. The Triennial Act, which restored the freedom and frequency of Parliaments, was a concession made to the people by King William, in the midst of his difficulties; and the policy of those Ministers, who may advise his Majesty to give his royal assent to the repealing of it, is of a nature too refined for my understanding. And as his Majesty has been pleased to propose that Prince as a model to himself, and is emulous to imbibe his spirit and to equal his glory, it is a matter of astonishment to those, who are not in the secret of affairs, to see the salutary measures adopted on the most mature deliberation, with a view to the public good in the reign of the former Monarch, so eagerly and rashly rescinded in the very commencement of that of the latter. There must certainly be some latent cause for the precipitation with which this Bill has been urged; there must be some secret measure in contemplation, which the ministers of the crown suspect will not stand the test of a new Parliament. It must be something, I repeat, hereafter to be done by them;  
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for I will do them the justice to believe, that for all the manifold mischiefs that have been done, they feel entirely at their ease—perfectly callous to the emotions of sensibility or remorse. A standing Parliament, which it is the object of this Bill to establish, has been said to resemble a standing pool, the waters of which grow, for want of a fresh and free current, offensive and fetid. But the present Parliament may more justly be compared to a torrent, which, in its furious and foaming course, desolates the land, bearing down all the land-marks and antient mounds which have been raised to confine it within its regular and accustomed banks.” After a variety of able speeches from the most distinguished members on both sides of the House, Sir Robert Raymond, afterwards Lord Raymond, and Chief Justice of England, concluded the debate with a comprehensive reply to the arguments in favour of the Bill, and a masterly recapitulation of the objections urged against it, of which the multifarious particulars that demand a place in general history will suffer only a concise and cursory mention “The arguments for the Bill were, according to the enumeration of this able speaker : I. The expences attending frequent elections ; II. The divisions and animosities excited by them ; III. The advantages to be derived by our enemies from these domestic feuds ; IV. The encouragement which this Bill holds out to our allies to form with us more strict  
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and permanent connections. As to the expences of election, they were, he acknowledged, of late years, most alarmingly increased, and were become very grievous and burdensome. They have increased, however, not from the contests of neighbouring gentlemen with each other, but from the intrusion of strangers, who, having no natural interest to support them, and coming no one could tell from whence, have recourse to the scandalous arts of bribery and corruption, which have imposed a necessity upon gentlemen to enlarge their expences, in order to preserve their antient and established interests in their respective counties ; and the impunity which the practice of bribery and corruption had too often met with in that House, he was compelled to add, had greatly enhanced the evil. But would any one assert that septennial Parliaments were competent to remedy this evil ? Would they not rather increase it ? For those that will give money to obtain a seat in Parliament for three years, will give proportionably more for seven. No—not septennial, but annual Parliaments are the true constitutional remedy for this grievance : That was our antient constitution, and every departure from it has been attended with inconvenience and injury. With respect to the animosities and divisions attending frequent elections, they are chiefly of a private nature, and little affect the public : Such as they are, however, this Bill is more calculated to

to inflame than to extinguish them. But our most alarming and pernicious animosities proceed certainly from a very different source—from the resentment and ambition of some, from the folly and prejudice of others. That our enemies will take advantage of our divisions whenever it is in their power, cannot be doubted ; but since the Triennial Act passed, ten successive Parliaments have sat, two long and bloody wars have been waged, our factions ran high, and our enemies were vigilant ; yet no such inconveniences were felt as are now apprehended or alleged : Nor were any attempts made by them, as far as I have heard, to our prejudice during the temporary ferments of those elections. The last argument is deduced from the encouragement this will give to your allies to enter into treaties with you. Sorry should I be to suppose we had any allies who refused to treat with us, because we refused to relinquish our Constitution : Were such a requisition to be made to them on our part, would it not be rejected on theirs with contempt and indignation ? But the measure now proposed is calculated not to strengthen the hands of the executive power, but to lessen its influence with foreign nations. Is it not to proclaim to the world that the King *dare* not call a new Parliament ? that he *dare* not trust the people in a new choice ? And is not this a supposition dishonourable alike to the Monarch and to the Parliament

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now existing? It presumes that another House of Commons would act differently from the present, which implies that this House does not truly represent the people. Frequent Parliaments are coeval with the constitution. In the reign of Edward III. it was enacted, that Parliaments should be holden every year once, and oftener if need be. This must be understood of new Parliaments; for prorogations and long adjournments were not then known. Every long interruption of Parliaments has been attended with mischief and inconvenience to the public: And in the Declaration of Rights at the Revolution it is asserted, as the undoubted right of the subject, that Parliaments should be held frequently; and the preamble of the Bill, which we are now called upon to repeal, declares, 'that by the antient laws and statutes of the realm frequent Parliaments ought to be held, and that frequent new Parliaments tend very much to the happy union and the good agreement of the King and his people.' Before this repeal takes place, I hope it will be shewn in what consists the error of those assertions. Would the King establish his throne in the hearts of his people, this is the most sure and effectual way; for such frequent appeals to the people generate confidence, and confidence is a great advance towards agreement and affection. Will not the people say with reason, if this Bill should pass, that when the original term of  
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delegation is elapsed, you are no longer their representatives? In my opinion, with great submission I speak it, King, Lords, and Commons, can no more continue a Parliament beyond its natural duration, than they can make a Parliament. The wisest governments, it is well known, have ever been the most cautious in continuing those persons in authority to whom they have entrusted the supreme power. A standing parliament and a standing army are convertible, and fit instruments to support each other's powers. For these reasons, and because no state necessity can be alleged or pretended for the passing of such an Act, at a time when the present Parliament may be convened for two succeeding sessions, I shall give my vote against the commitment of the Bill." On a division, the question of commitment was carried in the affirmative by a majority of 284 against 162 voices. While this memorable Bill was pending in the House, various petitions were presented against it: One, in particular, from the Borough of Horsham, stating, 'that they looked upon this Bill as an overturning of the Constitution, and an infringement of their liberties,' gave such offence, that the House refused to receive it; and the general question, *that this Bill do now pass*, was carried in the affirmative by a triumphant majority of 264 votes against 121; and on the 26th of June 1716, it received the royal assent, the King expressing in his speech the satisfaction

satisfaction he felt at the prospect of a *settled Government*, supported by a Parliament, which had shewn such zeal for the prosperity of their country, and the Protestant interest of Europe. And his Majesty now deeming himself in a state of perfect security, and being, by an Act passed in the last session, relieved from the disagreeable embarrassment of a clause in the Act of Settlement, restraining him from leaving the kingdom without the consent of Parliament, determined to revisit his dominions in Germany, the state of affairs on the Continent demanding his most serious attention. Louis XIV., King of France, had terminated his long career, in the course of the preceding summer, September 1, 1715. For more than half a century, this monarch had reigned the dread and envy of Europe, and at no period, since the foundation of the monarchy, had France displayed such power or splendour. During the continuance of the feudal system, the authority of the monarch, and the collective force of the monarchy, was restrained and diminished by the independent authority vested in the nobles. When the regal authority was at length fully restored, and established, by the insidious and profound policy of Louis XI., the power of France was for a series of years eclipsed by the superior greatness of the House of Austria. But at the accession of Louis XIV., the pride of that haughty family

family had been signally humbled by the genius of Richelieu and the arms of Gustavus. Thus by the dangerous policy of the last century, France was left without a rival, and Louis XIV. soon shewed himself of a disposition to improve and extend that superiority to its utmost limits. Vain, unfeeling, unprincipled, haughty, ambitious, the ruling passion of his life was the thirst of GLORY \*. For this he scrupled not to sacrifice the repose of nations, and to deluge Europe in blood. A prospect of the internal state and condition of France, under his government, discovers an amazing contrast of magnificence and wretchedness. In religion, a malignant and merciless bigot, he forced from their native homes, by the violence of his persecution, myriads of the most industrious and virtuous of his subjects, the loss of whom France yet feels and laments. From the impression made, nevertheless, by the first rapid glances of History, his character appears in a variety of dazzling and

\* In a letter written by Louis to the Count D'Estrades, Ambassador at the Court of London, January 1662, he declares that the King of England, and his Minister Clarendon, do not as yet sufficiently know him—that he aims at GLORY, preferable to any other consideration—that all motives of interest are as nothing to him in comparison of a point of honour—and that he shall always be ready to hazard all, rather than tarnish that GLORY at which he aims, as the principal object of all his actions.

imposing points of view. He was possessed of strong natural powers of mind ; and of great personal accomplishments. He was generous, affable, condescending, a munificent patron, and rewarder of merit. Under his reign, great characters were formed, great public works both of ornament and utility constructed. Science and the arts flourished under his auspices, and a new Augustan age appeared. He sustained the adverse fortune of his later years with firmness and magnanimity. His heart, softened by distress, seemed at length to feel for the distresses of his people : And he acknowledged, when too late to rectify his error, that he had formed mistaken opinions respecting that *glory*, which he had been so anxiously solicitous to acquire. His death took place at a critical moment, and the projects formed in favour of the House of Stuart, which were by its ablest adherents, before that event, deemed “ wild and uncertain,” became, in consequence of it, mad and desperate. He was succeeded by Louis XV., an infant only five years of age, and the government of the kingdom was now vested in the hands of the Duke of Orleans, Regent of France. This Prince, who, in case of the death of the infant Monarch, had just pretensions, founded on the arrangements of the treaty of Utrecht, to the throne of France, dreaded with reason, notwithstanding the act of renunciation, the competition of the King of Spain. And the situation

situation of the King of England, who had also the designs of a restless rival to oppose, being analogous to that of the Regent, they concluded with an emulation of eagerness,—all political difficulties being previously obviated by the ability and address of the Earl of Stair, now Ambassador at Paris,—a treaty of friendship and alliance for their mutual assistance and support, to which the States-General readily acceded. But in England, where distrust and hatred of France were universally prevalent, it excited much murmur and surprise, nor would the nation easily be persuaded to believe that the Protestant succession in England could derive any additional security from the officious or insidious guarantee of France. The affair, however, which principally engaged the King's solicitude at this period, and which forms, indeed, the grand key to almost all the numerous and intricate negotiations, conventions, and alliances of the present reign, was the recent cession of the Dutchies of Bremen and Verden by Denmark, who had conquered them from the Swedes; and for which Denmark was to receive a certain equivalent in money from Hanover. Exclusive, however, of this pretended equivalent, the King of England, as Elector of Hanover, undertook to guarantee to Denmark, the Dutchy of Sleswic, conquered by that power from the Duke of Holstein, the ally of Sweden; his Danish Ma-

jeſty thus wiſely parting with one half of his conqueſts, in order to eſtabliſh a permanent property in the other. This whole tranſaction the King of Sweden regarded as a moſt flagrant injury and inſult. And little regarding, in the vehemence of his anger, the diſtinction ariſing from the twofold character ſuſtained by his adverſary, as King of England and Elector of Hanover, and well knowing that, in the mere capacity of Elector, he would not have ventured to gratify his ambition ſo much at the riſque of his ſafety, he directed all the efforts of his vengeance againſt the Engliſh nation, who appeared to him to countenance this uſurpation, and whom he therefore conſidered as his determined and mortal enemies. In the ſummer of the preceding year, 1715, Sir John Norris ſailed with a ſtrong ſquadron to the Baltic, for the protection of the national commerce, which had ſuffered extremely from the hoſtile reſentment of the Swedes. The King of Sweden was at this time deeply engaged in negotiations and intrigues with the Engliſh malcontents; and a project was formed for the invaſion of the kingdom, by that heroic and romantic monarch, at the head of a large body of forces, which would doubtleſs have been joined by great numbers of the diſaffected, who waited only a favourable moment for revolt. The King of England, who had received information from various quarters of this dangerous conſpiracy, on  
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his return from the Continent, caused the Swedish Ambassador Count Gyllenburg to be arrested. At the same time, Baron Goertz, the Swedish Resident in Holland, was also, by an excess of complaisance, for which it would not be easy to find a precedent, arrested at the requisition of the King by order of the States : And in the papers of these two noblemen, which, by a bold and irregular exertion of power, were seized and searched, was found ample proof of their secret machinations. The foreign Ministers were not a little alarmed at this extraordinary procedure. And the Marquis de Monteleone, the Spanish Ambassador, in particular, expressed his astonishment and regret, that no other mode of preserving the peace of the kingdom could be devised, than by arresting the persons of Ambassadors, and seizing their papers—the sacred repositories of their masters secrets. The Secretary of State, Mr. Methuen, stated the urgent necessity which had impelled the King his master to adopt a measure so contrary to his inclinations : And Baron Goertz openly avowed the whole project of the invasion, of which he acknowledged himself the author, and which he said “ was amply justified by the conduct of the King of Great Britain, who had joined the confederacy against the King of Sweden, without having received the least provocation—who had assisted the King of Denmark in subduing the

Dutchies of Bremen and Verden, and then purchased them of the usurper, and who had, in the course of this very summer, sent a strong squadron of ships to the Baltic, where it joined the Danes and Russians against the Swedes." The States of Holland not venturing to detain the Baron long in confinement, he prosecuted his designs with increase of zeal and earnestness. Soon after the meeting of Parliament, February 1717, the King informed the House of Commons, by a royal message delivered by General Staphope, of the danger which impended over the nation from the designs of Sweden, and demanded an extraordinary supply, to enable him to make good such engagements as it might be necessary for him to contract with other powers, in order effectually to avert it. A supply of 250,000*l.* was accordingly voted, but by a perilous majority of *four voices* only, and not without vehement debate and opposition, chiefly in consequence of an alarming division in the administration, and the eventual secession of various of its members, distinguished equally by eminence of station and ability—amongst whom, Lord Townshend, sometime Secretary of State, and lately appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Mr. Walpole, who had succeeded the Earl of Halifax, as First Commissioner of the Treasury, appeared most conspicuous. The leaders of the secession, by the faint and languid support which those who took  
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any part in the debate gave to this motion, and the obstinate silence of the rest, sufficiently shewed their disapproval of the conduct of the Court, which, for the sake of an useless acquisition of territory in Germany, scrupled not to involve Great Britain in an expensive, dangerous, and destructive war. And it was now clearly perceived, though unfortunately at a period too late, that the separation of the kingdom from the electorate, ought to have constituted the basis of the settlement of the Crown upon the House of Hanover. The message was declared, by Mr. Shippen, to be unparliamentary and unprecedented; penned, he supposed, by some foreigner, totally unacquainted with their accustomed forms of procedure, and their invariable usage of granting money only on estimate, and for certain specified services. And he asked, what glorious advantages were to be obtained for England, which made it necessary to incur this expence, and to encounter this danger? Mr. Hungerford ridiculed the idea of courting, and much more of purchasing, foreign alliances; and said, that a nation so lately the terror of France and Spain, was surely able to defend itself in any cause, which called for national exertion, from the attack of so inconsiderable an enemy as Sweden. General Stanhope, in the warmth of debate, asserting, "that none could refuse compliance with this message, but such as were not *the King's friends*;"

*friends;*" much offence was taken at this expression by many Members, far removed from the suspicion of disaffection; and Mr. Lawson, Member for Cumberland, observed, "that he was surprised to hear such unguarded expressions fall from so respectable a person, and that if every Member of the House who used freedom of speech, must be accounted an enemy to the King, whenever he happened to disapprove of the measures of his Ministers, he knew no service they could render to their country in that House, and it were better at once to retire to their country-seats, and leave the King and his ministers to act entirely at their discretion." On the commitment of the Bill, Mr. Pulteney, who had now resigned his office of Secretary at War, protested that he could not persuade himself that any Englishman had dared to advise his Majesty to send such a message; but he hoped that the House would not be swayed by German counsels; and that such resolutions would be adopted as would make a German Ministry tremble \*. It was again urged, that no occasion did or could exist, for entering into foreign alliances, with a view of

\* Lord Townshend was dismissed from his office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland on the evening of the day (April 9, 1717) on which the first debate and division on this motion had taken place.—And Mr. Walpole, Mr. Methuen Secretary of State, and Mr. Pulteney, delivered in their resignations the next morning.

defend,

defending Great Britain from this danger—that we had an army and a fleet, far superior to any force that Sweden could in her present state bring into action against us; that we were in actual alliance with France, from whose former connection with Sweden, apprehensions might otherwise have been entertained. But if the Court persisted in asserting the necessity of new and foreign engagements against Sweden, it was doubtless requisite to state, since no one could pretend to conjecture, what those engagements were. And the Speaker, who took part in the debate, declared, that no additional burdens on the public appeared at this time necessary. It was his opinion, therefore, that if the sum now demanded, were expended for our safety abroad, such proportion of the national troops as equalled the amount of the expenditure, ought to be disbanded at home. Lord Finch, eldest son of the Earl of Nottingham, reprobated in strong terms this novel system of politics. It appeared, as he also said, from the memorial recently presented by the Russian Minister, and by the answer which had been returned to the same, that such measures were pursued as were likely to engage us in a quarrel with the Czar. To which General Stanhope replied, “ that as for the instances which his Majesty has caused to be made with the Czar, and the measures he may have concerted to get the Russian troops out of  
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the Dutchy of Mecklenburg, his Majesty has acted in all this as Elector and Prince of the Empire ; and he was persuaded all the gentlemen here would agree with him, that the King's dignity, as King of Great Britain, was never understood to tie up his hands with respect to his interests in Germany, and as Prince of the Empire \*." The fact itself never-

\* Early in the month of March 1717, the Minister of the Czar presented a memorial to the Court of London, setting forth the solicitude of the Czar to conclude a treaty of amity with his Majesty, and to guarantee the Hanover succession ; and says, " And it was not the fault of his Czarish Majesty that the said negotiation was not brought to a happy conclusion. Although his Czarish Majesty has lately observed, that several contrary steps have been taken by your Majesty's Ministers in many foreign Courts, particularly at the Court of Vienna and those of Denmark and Prussia, as well as at the Diet of Ratisbon, though his Czarish Majesty had given no cause for such measures, notwithstanding that he had sufficient reasons to be upon his guard, and to provide for his own security, considering the general reports and the particular advices he had had from many places that your Majesty is negotiating a separate peace with Sweden, in which you promise your assistance against his Czarish Majesty upon the condition of the cession of Bremen and Verden, as it plainly appears by the letters lately published by the Swedish Minister." An answer was delivered to this memorial, dated April 2, 1717, which says, " As to the complaints contained in that memorial of the steps which his Majesty may have taken at several Courts in Germany with regard to the Russian troops in the Empire ; granting it to be true, that the British Ministers had acted with vigour at the said courts, in order to procure the

nevertheless remained indisputable, that the Germanic politics of the King had embroiled the kingdom of Great Britain in a dangerous contest, not only with Sweden but Russia; for the Czar, passionately resenting the conduct of King George, who vehemently opposed his favourite and invidious project of a settlement in Germany as a Prince of the Empire, and being at open variance with the King respecting the affairs of the Duchy of Mecklenburg, which in the view of his Britannic Majesty were inferior in importance only to those of Bremen and Verden, now hastily acceded to the preliminaries of a convention, which a short time would probably have ripened into a definitive peace, through the dextrous intervention of Baron Goertz, with his inveterate rival the King of Sweden, with whom he had been near twenty years at war; and assented to the project of elevating the Pretender to the throne of Great Britain. But the good fortune of the King of England, which throughout the whole course of his life was ever remarkable, delivered him from all appre-

the evacuation of the said troops, his Czarish Majesty ought not to be in the least surpris'd at it, considering the strict union which has so long subsisted between Great Britain, the Emperor, and the Empire, which union has been confirmed and strengthened the last year by a new treaty of alliance and guarantee between the Emperor and the King."

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hensions, by the death of the King of Sweden, who was killed by a cannon-ball in the trenches before the fortrefs of Frederickshall in Norway; an event which produced great political convulsions in Sweden, in the first shock of which Baron Goertz lost his head on the scaffold. This monarch was one of ~~the~~ most remarkable characters which the present or indeed any age has produced. Attacked in early youth without pretence or provocation, by an ambitious and unprincipled confederacy of kings, he defended himself with heroic valor and glorious success. But, intoxicated by a long and uninterrupted course of prosperity, inflamed with an eager desire of revenge, and indulging wild and extravagant ideas of conquest, he refused with disdain all terms of accommodation, and at length experienced a fatal reverse of fortune, the calamitous consequences of which, Sweden still most sensibly feels. Nevertheless the memory of this romantic monarch is held in high veneration by the Swedes, who yet celebrate the anniversary of his birth with an enthusiasm due only to that of the great restorer of Swedish liberty and independency, the illustrious GUSTAVUS VASA—a name profaned and insulted by this commemoration: For a tyranny more oppressive than that of Charles XII. was never exercised, nor a submission more abject  
never

never exacted by any monarch from any people \*.  
 The Czar, in consequence of this unexpected event,  
 thought it prudent to desist from the farther pro-  
 secution of his hostile designs; and Bremen and  
 Verden

\* The following portrait of this extraordinary man, drawn  
 by the pen of genius, cannot but prove interesting and accept-  
 able:

On what foundation stands the warrior's pride,  
 How just his hopes, let Swedish CHARLES decide :  
 A frame of adamant, a soul of fire,  
 No dangers fright him, and no labors tire ;  
 O'er love, o'er fear, extends his wide domain,  
 Unconquer'd lord of pleasure and of pain.  
 No joys to him pacific sceptres yield :  
 War sounds the trump—he rushes to the field ;  
 Behold surrounding kings their force combine,  
 And one capitulate, and one resign.  
 Peace courts his hand, but spreads her charms in vain.  
 “ Think nothing gain'd,” he cries, “ till nought remain,  
 On Moscow's walls till Gothic standards fly,  
 And all be mine beneath the polar sky.”  
 The march begins in military state,  
 And nations on his eye suspended wait ;  
 Stern Famine guards the solitary coast,  
 And Winter barricades the realm of frost.  
 He comes—not want or cold his course delay ;  
 Hide, blushing Glory ! hide Pultowa's day.  
 The vanquish'd hero leaves his broken bands,  
 And shews his miseries in distant lands ;  
 Condemn'd a needy suppliant to wait,  
 While ladies interpose and slaves debate.

—But

Verden were left in the possession of Hanover, though the investiture of those Dutchies by the Emperor was still wanting to complete the validity of the purchase. This, therefore, now became the grand object of the attention and solicitude of the English court; and as the Emperor, notwithstanding the recent renewal of treaties, affected delay and reluctance to comply with the eager applications of the English Monarch, means were to be devised to obviate his objections, or at least to convince his Imperial Majesty how much it concerned the interests of the Court of Vienna not to insist too strongly or pertinaciously on them. By the treaty of Utrecht the kingdoms of Naples and Sardinia were ceded to the House of Austria, together with Milan and the Low Countries; and the Island of Sicily, with the title of King, to the Duke of Savoy. The pride of Spain was, however, deeply wounded by this forcible dismemberment of her monarchy, though the experience of almost a century had shewn how little accession of strength

—But did not Chance at length her error mend?  
 Did no subverted empire mark his end?  
 Did rival monarchs give the fatal wound?  
 Or hostile millions press him to the ground?  
 His fall was destin'd to a barren strand,  
 A petty fortress, and a dubious hand:  
 He left that name at which the world grew pale,  
 To point a moral or adorn a tale.

JOHNSON'S IM. OF JUV. SAT. 10.

she



she really derived from the possession of these detached and remote provinces, or rather how great an increase of weakness. Cardinal Alberoni, Prime Minister of Philip V., a man of a lofty and aspiring genius, which delighted to form bold and dangerous projects, at this time entertained the chimerical hope of re-uniting to the monarchy of Spain the kingdoms and provinces of which she had been divested. And the Emperor being actually engaged in a war with Turkey \*, the Cardinal embraced the opportunity to equip a formidable armament, which sailed from Barceloña July 1717, and landing at Cagliari, the capital of Sardinia, soon made an entire conquest of the island; pretending, as a reason for this invasion, the previous violation of the most positive engagements on the part of the Emperor, or, to adopt the haughty language of the Court of Madrid, of the ARCH-DUKE †. The Emperor

\* In this war the Imperial arms, under the auspicious conduct of Prince Eugene, triumphed gloriously over the Ottoman power. Servia and Croatia were added to the Austrian dominions; and "the Turkish moons wandered in disarray" over the impurpled fields of Peterwaradin and Belgrade.

† It must be remarked, that no definitive treaty had taken place between Spain and the Emperor since the war of the succession, nor had the respective titles of these rival potentates been as yet reciprocally and formally acknowledged. "Greatness of soul," says the Marquis de Grimaldi in his circular letter addressed to the Ministers of the several foreign Courts, "made his Majesty bear the

ror loudly complaining of this hostile, and, as he termed it, sacrilegious attack, while his armies were combating the common enemy of the Christian faith ; and the King of Spain professing a willingness to submit the justice of his quarrel to equitable arbitration, the King of England and the Regent of France, in concert with the States-General, undertook the accommodation of these differences. And conferences being opened with the Court of Vienna, the famous QUADRUPLE ALLIANCE

the dismemberment of his dominions, which the plenipotentiaries would sacrifice to the tranquillity of Europe. After which he persuaded himself, that these stipulated sacrifices would at least have secured to him the rest of this nation as glorious as afflicted. But no sooner had he complied with the surrender of Sicily, in favour of the repose of Spain, upon the condition of the evacuation of Catalonia and the island of Majorca, than he found that the orders received for that purpose were concealed ; and when at last it came to the knowledge of his allies, it was pretended that the treaty should be executed, by virtue whereof his Majesty demanded the evacuation of the places. Nothing was more easy for that purpose than for the garrisons of the *Arch-duke* to have surrendered to the King's troops the gates of the places they possessed, in the same manner as was reciprocally practised among the potentates of Europe. But quite on the contrary, the Generals of the *Arch-duke*, violating the public faith of treaties and the reciprocal engagements, abandoned the places to the Catalans, making them, at the same time, believe that they would soon return ; and thereby fomented their disquiet and rebellious spirit, so far as to induce them to think of a furious and obstinate resistance."

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was at length concluded, by which it was determined that Sardinia, now actually in the possession of Spain, should be transferred to the House of Savoy ; and Sicily, a far more valuable possession, ceded in exchange to the Emperor. The claims of Spain were altogether disregarded ; only it was stipulated that the succession to the Dutchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, claimed by the Queen of Spain as heiress of the Houses of Medici and Farnese, should devolve upon her eldest son in case of a failure of male issue : And three months only were allowed to the parties interested in these cessions to declare their acceptance or rejection\*. Spain, as may be imagined, was little disposed to

\* Although the Regent of France, from his eager desire to secure the friendship of England, and from personal animosity to the King of Spain, entered entirely into the views of the English Monarch upon this occasion, he retained at the bottom all the Bourbon prejudices against the House of Austria. The principal obstacle to the alliance concluded in 1716 between the two kingdoms, was the unwillingness of the Regent to assent to the expulsion of the Swedes, the antient enemies of that House, from Germany. " I have," says the Ambassador, Lord Stair, in a dispatch addressed to Secretary Craggs, " all along endeavoured to persuade the Regent that, in the present state of the kingdom of Sweden, it can be of no great use to France that that Crown should preserve a foot in the Empire ; and that the true and solid balance against the Emperor, and for preserving the liberty of Germany, must be by making a close conjunction among the Princes of the north of Germany. This

to acquiesce in this settlement. And the propositions of General Stanhope, the English Secretary of State, who was himself invested with the character of Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court of Madrid on this occasion, were refused with disdain. A still more formidable armament than the former was now fitted out by the indefatigable exertions of the Cardinal, destined for the invasion

thought, in general, pleases the Regent very well; but he does by no means like the particular part of it, to deprive the Crown of Sweden of their dominions in Germany." When affairs, after this, took a different turn; when jealousies and dissensions arose between the Emperor and the King of England, and hopes were entertained that England might be effectually detached from the Austrian interest; the Court of Versailles entered with more sincerity, and even with apparent eagerness, into the projects of Hanoverian aggrandizement; sensible that the sacrifice made by France was trivial in comparison of the advantage gained. Lord Stair, at this period, had the generosity zealously to intercede with the Court of London for the pardon of the Earl of Mar. After being, however, a considerable time amused with the hope of obtaining it, he met with a final and harsh repulse. "Lord Mar," says the Ambassador to Mr. Craggs, "is *outré* at the usage he has met with. He says, our Ministry may be great and able men, but that they are not skilful in making profelytes, or keeping friends when they have them. I am pretty much of his mind. He was certainly determined to leave the Pretender's interest. He is now full of resentment, and in most violent agitations." How striking the contrast between the policy of the English Court in this reign, and that of Henry IV. of France, after his triumphs over the faction of the League! But every King is not a hero.

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of Sicily; his Sicilian Majesty having concerted his own measures by a separate negotiation with the Court of Vienna; wisely resolving to submit to terms, however disadvantageous, which he found himself unable to oppose with effect. The Spaniards having landed their forces, consisting of 30,000 men, flattered themselves with the speedy reduction of this rich and beautiful island. But the King of England, in order to counteract the designs of Spain, had, with the concurrence of Parliament, though England had no imaginable motive to interfere in these distant scenes of contention, caused a formidable fleet to sail for the Mediterranean, under the command of Sir George Byng, with peremptory orders to attack the Spanish fleet if engaged in any hostile enterprise against Naples or Sicily. The British Admiral, on his arrival off Cadiz, transmitted by his secretary a copy of his instructions to the Cardinal, who perused them with great emotion, and after some deliberation returned for answer, "that the Chevalier Byng might execute the orders he had received from the King his master \*." The Admiral

\* The instructions of the Admiral were as follows—"You are to make instances with both parties to cease from using any farther acts of hostility; but in case the Spaniards do still insist with their ships of war and forces to attack the kingdom of Naples, or other the territories of the Emperor in Italy, or to

miral proceeding, therefore, on his voyage, cast anchor with his whole fleet in the Bay of Naples, where the magnificence of the spectacle drew immense multitudes of people to the surrounding shores, which resounded with loud acclamations.

On receiving intelligence from Count Daun, the Viceroy, that Messina, the capital of Sicily, was reduced to the last extremity; he again weighed anchor, and on the 9th of August 1718, he came in sight of the Faro of Messina, and dispatched his own captain with a message to the Marquis de Lede, commander of the Spanish forces, proposing a cessation of arms in Sicily for two months, that the powers of Europe might have opportunity to con-

land in any part of Italy, which can only be with a design to invade the Emperor's dominions, against whom only they have declared war by invading Sardinia; or if they should endeavour to make themselves masters of the kingdom of Sicily, which must be with a design to invade the kingdom of Naples; in such case you are with all your power to hinder and obstruct the same. If it should so happen, that at your arrival with our fleet under your command in the Mediterranean, the Spaniards should already have landed any troops in Italy, in order to invade the Emperor's territories, you shall endeavour amicably to dissuade them from persevering in such an attempt; and offer them your assistance to help them to withdraw their troops and put an end to all farther acts of hostility. But in case these your friendly endeavours should prove ineffectual, you shall, by keeping company with or intercepting their ships or convoys, or, if it be necessary, by openly opposing them, defend the Emperor's territories from any farther attempt."

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cert measures for restoring a lasting peace, declaring, at the same time, that should this proposal be rejected, he should, in pursuance of his instructions, use all his force to prevent farther attempts to disturb the dominions the King his master had engaged to defend. The Spanish General answered, "that he had no power to treat of an armistice, but should obey his orders, which were, to reduce Sicily to the dominion of his master the King of Spain." On the 11th of August the Spanish fleet, consisting of twenty-seven sail of the line, was descried off the coast of Calabria, lying too in the order of battle; and though on the approach of the British squadron they bore away apparently with the view of maintaining a running fight, the superior manœuvres of the English commander soon brought on a close action, which before sunset terminated in the almost total destruction of the Spanish fleet; Don Castanita the commander in chief, and three other Admirals, being captured. Captain Walton being detached by Sir George Byng, with five ships of the line, in pursuit of a division of the Spaniards much superior in force, acquainted the English Admiral with the event of his undertaking, in the following memorable letter:—"Sir, We have destroyed all the Spanish ships and vessels which were upon the coast, the number as per margin." Upon inspecting the margin of this laconic epistle, no less than

thirteen ships of war of different descriptions were found comprized in it. It is said that Rear-admiral Cammock, a native of Ireland, who commanded one of the divisions of the Spanish fleet, proposed to the Commander in Chief to remain in the Road of Paradise, where the coast is bold and the anchorage good, with their broadsides towards the sea, in order of battle : A position in which the British fleet might have been greatly annoyed from the batteries erected on shore ; and the various and rapid currents would have prevented a close and regular approach. But the evil genius of Spain predominated, and this proposal was rejected. In reward of this great victory, Sir George Byng was raised to the dignity of the peerage by the style and title of Viscount Torrington, and received other distinguished marks of the royal favour. But the Court of Madrid exclaimed in the most passionate language against the conduct of England, as contrary to the law of nations and a flagrant violation of the most solemn engagements ; and orders were issued at all the ports of Spain and the Indies, for making reprisals upon the English ; in consequence of which, war was formally declared by England against Spain, which was soon followed by a like declaration on the part of the Regent of France.

These transactions, however, did not pass abroad without severe notice and animadversion at home.

In



In the session of Parliament which commenced Nov. 1717, the King had in his speech assured the two Houses that his endeavours to preserve the public tranquillity had not been unsuccessful; and that he had reason to believe they would in the end produce their full effect. A considerable reduction of the army was in consequence proposed on the part of the Ministers, who contented themselves with moving for 18,000 men only for the service of the ensuing year. Even this force was deemed by the Opposition very unnecessary, and an effort was in vain made to limit the number to 12,000. Mr. Walpole, in particular, declaimed with much energy on the danger of a standing army in a free country; and he affirmed, that though a considerable proportion of the privates had been disbanded, the officers had been retained; and the soldiers wanting to complete the several companies and regiments might be raised with beat of drum in twice twenty-four hours; so that a force double to what was intended by Parliament was virtually vested in the Crown. And Mr. Shippen, in the course of a very able speech, declared the expence attending the army to be the smallest objection to it. The chief argument against it was, that the civil and military power would not long subsist together. Far from being necessary to our protection, he apprehended so great a force to be inconsistent with our safety. In certain circum-

stances an army might be necessary, but in such circumstances it was only to be chosen as the lesser evil; for that, abstractedly considered, it was an evil, every lover of liberty must acknowledge. I know (said this inflexible patriot) that these assertions interfere with some paragraphs of his Majesty's speech. But we are to consider that speech as the composition of the ministers and advisers of the Crown, and we are therefore at liberty to controvert every proposition in it, *particularly those which seem calculated rather for the MERIDIAN of GERMANY than of GREAT BRITAIN. But it is the infelicity of his Majesty's reign, that he is unacquainted with our language and CONSTITUTION;* and it is therefore the more incumbent upon his British Ministers to inform him, that our government does not stand upon the same foundation with that which is established in his German dominions. If we recur to the history of Europe, we shall find that the nations once free have lost their liberties by allowing, on some plausible pretence of exigence, their Princes to maintain an armed force during peace. They perceived, too late, that they had erected a power superior to themselves, and they now wear the chains which they forged for their own necks. The consent of Parliament is indeed alleged in favour of the army entrusted to the Crown in this country. But the consent of Parliament cannot alter the nature of things,

things, or prevent the same causes from producing the same effects. No art can disguise from an army, however denominated, the knowledge of its own strength ; and the experience of the last century has taught us, that a Parliament army may give as deep a wound to the constitution as an army of the Crown. So long as the army, therefore, is continued, so long is the constitution suspended ; so long is it at the mercy of those who command it.—During this speech, Mr. Lechmere had taken down in writing those marked expressions which seemed pointed not so much against the Ministers as the King : And when Mr. Shippen had sat down, Mr. Lechmere immediately rose, and stated to the House that these words were a scandalous invective against his Majesty's person and government ;—such as merited the highest resentment of that House ; and he therefore moved, that the Member who had spoken them be committed to the Tower. This motion was immediately seconded by Mr. Spencer Cowper, supported by Sir Joseph Jekyl, and various others ; on which Mr. Walpole desired that the Member might be permitted to explain these rash words, spoken in the heat of debate. But Mr. Shippen declared that he desired no such indulgence, and that the words needed neither explanation or apology. The House in a flame immediately resolved that the Chairman leave the chair ; and the Speaker resuming

suming his place, Mr. Farrer, Member for Bedford, reported from the Committee the words spoken by Mr. Shippen; upon which Mr. Shippen withdrew. And the question being put, "that the words spoken by William Shippen, Esq. a Member of this House, are highly dishonourable to, and unjustly reflecting on, his Majesty's person and government," it was carried in the affirmative by 175 voices against 81, and the Speaker was ordered to issue his warrant for the immediate commitment of Mr. Shippen to the Tower.

The session closed in March, a few days previous to which, the King by a royal message informed the House "that he had reason to judge from the information he had lately received from abroad, that an additional naval force would be necessary; and an address was moved and presented, assuring his Majesty, that the House would make good such exceedings as his Majesty in his royal wisdom should deem necessary for the purpose of giving effect to his unwearied endeavours to preserve *the peace of Europe*." No division on this motion took place—Mr. Walpole alone observing, "that this *pacific address* had violently the air of a DECLARATION OF WAR." The Parliament again meeting Nov. 1718, the King, in his speech, declared that the Court of Spain had rejected all his amicable proposals, and had broke through their most solemn engagements for the security of the British commerce.

merce. To vindicate therefore the faith of his former treaties, as well as to maintain those he had lately made, and to protect and defend the trade of his subjects, which had been violently and unjustly oppressed, it became necessary for his naval forces to check their progress; that notwithstanding the success of his arms, that Court had lately given orders at all the ports of Spain, and the West-Indies, to fit out privateers against the English. He said, that he was persuaded, a British Parliament would enable him to resent such treatment; and he assured them that his good brother the Regent of France was ready to concur with him in the most vigorous measures. An address of thanks and congratulation being proposed, it was forcibly urged, that such address might be attended with the most serious consequences, as stamping with the sanction of Parliament, measures which, upon examination, might appear equally contrary to the law of nations, and the interests of Great Britain. And it was moved in the House of Peers by Lord Strafford, that the instructions of Admiral Byng might be laid before the House. General, now created Earl Stanhope, replied, that there was no occasion to submit the Admiral's instructions to public discussion, as the treaties, of which the late sea-fight was a necessary consequence, had already received the approbation of Parliament. He accused the  
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Court of Spain of a violation of the treaty of Utrecht, and of public faith, in attacking the Emperor, while he was engaged in a war against the common enemies of Christendom. He added likewise, that it was high time to check the growth of the naval power of Spain, in order effectually to protect the British commerce, which had been violently oppressed by the Spaniards. In the Lower House, Mr. Walpole declaimed with much vehemence and energy against the late measures; and affirmed that to sanction them by the proposed Address, would answer no other purpose, than to screen from punishment the Ministers of the Crown, who had dared to plunge the nation into a war with Spain, of which they now wished to relieve themselves from the responsibility. He declared that, instead of the entire *satisfaction* which they were called upon to express, he would substitute an entire *dissatisfaction*; for the conduct of the Administration had been both faithless and pernicious. And on a subsequent resumption of the question, Mr. Shippen, with unbroken spirit, observed, "that there existed no necessity for involving this nation in a war, on account of any mercantile grievances, as there was every reason to believe they might be amicably redressed; and added, *that the war seemed to be calculated for another MERIDIAN.*" The expression, though amounting to a sort of defiance, passed unnoticed; and  
Mr.

Mr. Methuen, who had recently resigned the Seals, accounted and apologized for the dilatoriness of the Court of Spain, in respect to the mercantile grievances complained of, from the multiplicity and diversity of regulations, which prevailed in the several provinces and ports of that kingdom\*. An expression in the answer of the English Court to a memorial of the Marquis de Monteleone, the Spanish Ambassador, was animadverted upon as very extraordinary—it being therein stated, “ That his Majesty the King of Great Britain did not seek to aggrandize himself by any new acquisition, but was rather inclined to sacrifice something of his own, to procure the general quiet and tranquillity of Europe.” This was said to be a very uncommon stretch of condescension. The King of Spain was to be tempted by an offer from England,—which offer was suspected to be the cession of Gibraltar, or Minorca,—to accede to the terms of the Quadruple Alliance, by which nothing was gained by England, and the great object of which was plainly the security of the King’s German acquisitions, and the aggrandizement of Hanover. The Address however was at length carried, but the Commons thought proper to vote no more

\* Mr. Methuen, afterwards Sir Paul Methuen, had resided several years in the quality of Ambassador at the Court of Lisbon, where he negotiated the famous treaty with Portugal, known by the name of the METHUEN TREATY.

than 26,000 men, for the entire amount of the sea and land-service of the year.

Wholly actuated by the blind and furious spirit of revenge, Cardinal Alberoni had by this time formed a rash and romantic project for the elevation of the Pretender, now received and acknowledged as King of England at Madrid, to the throne of Great Britain. And a new armament was equipped at Cadiz, on board of which 6000 regular troops, with arms for a much larger number, were embarked under the command of the Duke of Ormond. Scarcely, however, had they reached Cape Finisterre, but they were dispersed and shattered by a violent tempest, which totally disabled them from prosecuting their voyage. Two frigates only, with the Earls Mareschal and Seaforth, and the Marquis of Tullibardine, with 300 Spanish soldiers on board, arrived in Scotland, where they were joined by some clans of Highlanders. But on the approach of the King's forces the Highlanders dispersed, and the Spaniards surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Meantime the efforts of the English arms abroad were attended with brilliant success. In consequence chiefly of the able and unintermitted exertions of Sir George Byng, and the powerful assistance which the Imperialists derived from the British fleet, the Spaniards were reduced to the humiliating necessity of evacuating the islands of Sicily and  
and



and Sardinia. For though the Marquis de Lede, notwithstanding the decisive victory obtained by Sir George Byng, had compelled the city of Messina to surrender, the Spanish army was effectually precluded, by the vigilance of the British Admiral, from receiving any reinforcements or supplies by sea. And on the other hand, a numerous body of Imperialists, commanded by the Count de Merci, was landed on the island under convoy of the British fleet, by the vigorous co-operation of which, the city of Messina was recovered. On the approach of spring Palermo was invested, the Count de Merci marching across the mountains, while the British fleet coasted along the shore. The Marquis de Lede, who had retreated under the cannon of Palermo, now prepared to give battle to the Imperialists, although in his circumstances a defeat must have proved fatal, when a felucca arrived with dispatches from the Court of Madrid, empowering the Marquis to sign a convention, by which Spain agreed to relinquish her pretensions to Sicily; and the shattered remains of her troops were immediately embarked at Tauromini for Barcelona. Such was the just confidence placed by the King of England in the zeal and ability of the gallant officer invested with the high and arduous commission thus prosperously terminated, that in reply to an application for instructions, his Majesty declared "he would send

send him none, for that he well knew how to act without any." And the uniform success attending all his enterprises, vulgarly ascribed to fortune, a more just and accurate discernment, tracing the concatenation of events, perceived to be the natural consequence of the wisdom and vigour with which his measures were invariably planned and executed. During these transactions in Sicily, Lord Cobham, with a considerable force, made a descent on Spain, and took Vigo. Preparations also were making for an expedition against Spanish America, and an army of French which had penetrated into Spain under the Duke of Berwick, reduced the towns of Fontarabia and St. Sebastian. So that the Court of Madrid found itself attacked on all sides, its schemes completely disconcerted, and no resource left but to accede, however reluctantly, to the terms of the Quadruple Alliance—the remaining differences between the Emperor and the King of Spain being referred to a Congress at Cambray, which, however, after a very long and tedious discussion, was at last dissolved without coming to any terms of agreement. A treaty of peace was now likewise concluded (November 1719), through the mediation of France, by the King of England, with Ulrica Queen of Sweden, sister and successor to Charles XII.; by which Bremen and Verden were secured to Hanover at the expence of a million of rix-dollars—a far more  
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considerable sum than the revenues of that Electorate were generally deemed competent to discharge. This peace, entitled a peace between Sweden and Great Britain, was negotiated and signed by a Hanoverian Minister, one Adolph-Frederic Van Bassawitz, who had the presumption to engage, "in the name of his Britannic Majesty, both as King and Elector, immediately to renew the antient alliances and friendships, &c. &c. as also *the guaranties upon the foundation of the treaty of peace concluded amongst the allies of the North, or which may be concluded or applied to the profit of the Ducal House of Holstein Gottorp*"—or, in plain terms, he undertakes to guarantee Sleswic to Denmark, Bremen and Verden to Hanover, and the eventual equivalent for Sleswic to the Duke of Holstein. Early in the following year (1720) a treaty of alliance was concluded between the Crowns of Great Britain and Sweden, by which his Britannic Majesty stipulated not only to furnish the powerful succours therein specified, but to engage his friends and allies to contribute by subsidies and auxiliary troops "*ad coercendum Czarum Russia*"—the express words of the treaty. In both these treaties the losses sustained by the English commerce in consequence of the depredations of the Swedes, which formed the only plausible pretext for involving Britain in this quarrel, were passed over unnoticed. And while the petition

from the merchants was lying neglected and forgotten on the table of the House of Commons, the sum of £72,000, in consequence of a message from his Majesty, was voted as a subsidy to Sweden. After all the indefatigable exertions and expensive sacrifices of the King of England to procure from the Court of Stockholm the absolute cession of Bremen and Verden, and which was at length so happily and unexpectedly accomplished, the investiture of those Dutchies, of which he had been so long and eager an expectant, notwithstanding the mighty services rendered to the House of Austria, was not yet obtainable from the gratitude or condescension of the Court of Vienna. On the contrary, the Emperor seemed to think those services amply compensated by the *protectorial commission* with which that monarch had been recently invested by his Imperial Majesty for the administration of the Dutchy of Mecklenburg—the Duke of Mecklenburg being suspended from his government, by a sentence of the Aulic Council, for tyranny and mal-administration. And it is even asserted upon good authority, that this commission was actually and formally exchanged at the Court of Vienna, for the “INSTRUCTIONS of Sir George Byng.” The affairs of Mecklenburg had long occupied a large share of the attention of the King of England, who was strongly suspected of a design to add that Dutchy to his other acquisitions in Germany.

Germany. And the Duke of Mecklenburg, in his several memorials to the Diet at Ratisbon, openly charges the House of Lunenburg with aspiring to the absolute sovereignty of LOWER SAXONY; and affirms that the troubles in his dominions have been continually fomented and inflamed by the Court of Herenhausen expressly with that view. But though the Emperor was at little pains to conceal his dislike and jealousy of these designs, the necessity of his affairs compelled him to this concession; which was apparently considered only as a prelude to a more firm and permanent possession. The King of England, in pursuance of his engagements with Sweden, sending in the summer of this year, 1720, a powerful squadron into the Baltic, the Russians—knowing that the commander Sir John Norris had instructions similar to those under which Sir George Byng had lately acted—retired into their ports; and a peace was soon afterwards concluded between the crowns of Sweden and Russia; not, however, without strong marks of resentment on the part of the Czar, at what he styled “the insolent interposition of Great Britain.”

It will now be proper to revert to those domestic occurrences, the relation of which has been interrupted by this recital of foreign transactions. The riots and tumults which were the natural consequence of the measures adopted by the present ministry, broke out afresh from time to time in

The cry of "the CHURCH and SACHEVEREL" seemed still to retain its full efficacy and influence over the multitude; and the dwelling-houses and meeting-houses of the sectaries were the favourite objects of the popular vengeance. In consequence of these outrages the House of Commons presented an address to the King, in which they state, "that great numbers of his Majesty's deluded subjects had assembled in a tumultuous and rebellious manner, had committed great disorders, and done great injuries to others of their fellow-subjects and fellow-protestants—and they declare it to be their indispensable duty to express their utmost abhorrence of all such traitorous proceedings, and their highest resentment against the authors and promoters of them; and beseech his Majesty, that the laws now in force may be put in speedy and vigorous execution against them. And they farther desire, that in justice to those who for their zeal and firm adherence to his Majesty's government have been sufferers in the said tumultuous and

But books to Cambridge gave, as well discerning  
That that right loyal body wanted learning.

This Epigram received a very happy and decisive retort from the late Sir William Brown, as it is said, *impromptu*:

The King to Oxford sent a troop of horse,  
For Tories know no argument but force,  
With equal care to Cambridge books he sent,  
For Whigs allow no force but argument.

traitorous

traitorous disorders, his Majesty would be graciously pleased to direct an exact account to be taken of the losses and damages sustained by such sufferers, in order that full compensation may be made; and assuring his Majesty that all expences so incurred shall be made good out of the first aids granted by Parliament." To which the King replied, "that he would give immediate directions for putting in execution the several matters so justly recommended to him." This was followed by a very loyal and proper address from the Dissenters themselves, acknowledging the seasonable protection granted them by government, and expressing "a grateful sense of his Majesty's gracious answer to the address of his faithful Commons in favour of those whose sufferings they so justly impute to the zeal displayed by them for his Majesty's person and government. We desire," say they, "nothing more than to enjoy our civil rights, with a full liberty to profess our own religious sentiments, which we take to be a privilege due to all men. Nor know we any reason why we have now suffered from the outrages of disaffected persons, but because we were known to be a body of men fixed in our duty to your Majesty." To this address his Majesty replied in the most gracious terms, "expressing his deep concern at the unchristian and barbarous treatment which they had met with, and assuring them of his royal protection and a

full compensation for all their sufferings." At this period the RIOT ACT passed for the prevention of similar disorders, declaring it to be felony for more than twelve persons to remain assembled more than one hour after its being publicly read by the magistrate; and by the salutary operation of this law, the internal tranquillity of the kingdom was in a great degree restored and established.

Notice has been already taken of the resignation of Mr. Walpole, who had succeeded, on the decease of the Earl of Halifax \*, to the high and important post of First Lord Commissioner of the Treasury. During his short continuance in office, he had exhibited

\* The Earl of HALIFAX survived a very short time only, his appointment as First Lord Commissioner of the Treasury, which office he had before sustained with high reputation, during the latter years of the reign of King WILLIAM,—dying after a few days illness, in the vigor of his age, May 19, 1715. It is believed that he aspired to the post of Lord High Treasurer, and was little pleased with the King's determination to put the Treasury into commission. Though the abilities of this Nobleman as a Financier and a Statesman were unquestionably great, he is chiefly known to posterity as a most munificent patron of literature; maintaining in this respect an illustrious rivalry with the Earl of Oxford, the head of the opposite faction; and in the space of eighty intervening years, these noblemen have had, it is not enough to say, no equals, but no successors. When, on the great and memorable change of Administration, A. D. 1710, the Earl of Halifax interceded with the Earl of Oxford in favor of the English Menander, Congreve, who, through the favor  
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hibited a signal proof of his financial ability, in the introduction of the memorable Bill which enacted, that all the public funds redeemable by law, and bearing higher interest than five per cent. be redeemed

of Halifax, enjoyed a lucrative place under the government ; Oxford, with great dignity and elegance, replied,

“ Non obtusa adeo gestamus pectora Pœni,  
Nec tam averfus equos Tyriâ soljungit ab urbe.”

A very invidious caricature portrait of the Earl of Halifax is to be found in the Satires of Pope, under the name of BUFO :

“ Proud as Apollo, on his forked hill,  
Sat full-blown BUFO, puff'd by every quill ;  
Fed with soft dedication all day long,  
Horace and he went hand and hand in song ;  
His library, where busts of Poets dead,  
And a true Pindar stood without a head,  
Receiv'd of Wits an undistinguish'd race,  
Who first his judgment ask'd,—and then a place ;  
Dryden alone,—what wonder ! came not high,  
Dryden alone escap'd this judging eye :  
But still the great have kindness in reserve—  
He help'd to bury whom he help'd to starve.”

Pope has elsewhere taken pains to impress the idea, that this Nobleman was a mere sciolist in literature ; and having matters of much more importance than poetry to engage his attention, it may easily be supposed that his criticisms were often hasty and superficial. The poetical remains of Lord Halifax, it must be confessed, do little honour to his memory, except as they afford a proof of his early and devoted attachment to the Muses. There is however one beautiful passage, which well deserves to be rescued from

redeemed according to their respective provisos or clauses of redemption, or, with consent of the proprietors, be converted into an interest or annuity not exceeding five per cent. per annum, redeemable by Parliament. And by this Bill the joint surplusses arising, as well from the proposed reduction of interest from six to five per cent. as from the excesses of the several taxes appropriated to the payment of the interest, were solemnly declared to be solely and unalienably applicable, under the denomination of a SINKING FUND, to the discharge of the principal of the public debt contracted previous to the 25th of December of the preceding year 1716. Had this plan been as steadily prosecuted as it was wisely concerted, the nation would have been soon relieved from her pecuniary difficulties. For, as in consequence of the progressive redemption of the debt the sur-

from oblivion, in his Epistle to the Earl of Dorset, on the victory gained by King WILLIAM on the banks of the Boyne, in which that monarch received a slight contusion from a musquet-ball, which grazed on his shoulder :

“ O, if in France this hero had been born,  
 What glittering tinsel would his acts adorn ;  
 Their plays, their songs, would dwell upon his wound,  
 And operas repeat no other sound :  
 Boyne would for ages be the painter's theme, ’  
 The Gobelins' labor, and the Poet's dream ;  
 The wounded arm would furnish all their rooms,  
 And BLEED for ever PURPLE in their looms.”

plusses

plusses must increase with accelerated rapidity, its internal energy, without strict attention to the regular though complex mode of its operation, is wholly inconceivable. Of this plan of redemption it may with peculiar and striking propriety be said,

“ *Mobilitate viget, viresque acquirit cundo.*”

“ ——— Every moment brings

“ *New vigor to its flight, new pinions to its wings.*”

The immediate cause of the secession of Mr. Walpole, whose example was followed by his friends, Mr. Methuen Secretary of State, and Mr. Pulteney Secretary at War, afterwards so famous and so formidable as his antagonist, has been already intimated, and was now unreservedly avowed to be his total disapprobation of the continental politics of the Court, which he perhaps deemed not merely injurious to the nation, but eventually hazardous to the safety of the minister who should venture publicly to justify or support them. For it did not at this time clearly appear how far the complaisance of Parliament would in time extend. Nor was it previously very credible that the interests of three powerful kingdoms should be made entirely subservient, by men chosen to guard and protect them, to the aspiring views of a German Electorate. But experience and observation taught this minister very different and much juster notions of things. Mr. Walpole was succeeded in the Treasury at first by General Stanhope,

hope, who finding and ingenuously acknowledging his incompetency for that station, soon resigned to the Earl of Sunderland, who had long aspired to the possession of it. Under this nobleman Mr. Aislaby acted as Chancellor of the Exchequer ; and the celebrated Addison was advanced in the room of Mr. Methuen to the post of Secretary : But being found essentially deficient in the requisite qualifications of a Minister of State, he resigned, on the pretence of ill health and the fatigues of office, to Mr. Craggs. And General Stanhope being created an Earl, resumed the seals of the foreign department, leaving Aislaby and Craggs to conduct the affairs of government in the House of Commons ; who, though men of good parliamentary talents, were considered only as secondary ministers to the great efficient leaders, Sunderland and Stanhope. The Earl of Oxford, who had now remained two years in the Tower, was encouraged, by the defection of his most powerful adversary, to petition the House of Lords that his imprisonment might not be indefinite : And the House appointed an early day for his trial in Westminster Hall, for which the most solemn and magnificent preparations were made, Earl Cowper presiding, as on former occasions, in the capacity of Lord High Steward. The articles of the impeachment being read, and Sir Joseph Jekyl standing up as one of the committee of managers in the name

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of the Commons of England to make good the first charge, Lord Harcourt arose and observed, " that the articles of the impeachment being numerous, and two of them only extending to the charge of high treason, it was superfluous to enter into the investigation of the rest till these had been decided upon ; for supposing him guilty of all, the utmost their Lordships could inflict, or the Earl could suffer, would amount to no more than the forfeiture of life and estate." The Commons affected to resent what they styled an encroachment upon their privileges, and peremptorily refused to proceed in the order prescribed by the Lords. The Lords, on their part, haughtily refused a *free conference* on this subject, as demanded by the Commons : And on their non-appearance at the subsequent adjournment of the court, the Earl was acquitted ; not, as was generally believed, without the secret approbation and concurrence of the Crown. The Commons, however, presented an address to the King, desiring that he might be excepted out of the intended act of grace ; by which they expressed at once their sense of the Earl's demerit, and their contempt of their Lordships' sentence of acquittal. The act of grace accordingly passed with this and some other exceptions ; and Oxford, to preserve appearances, was forbidden to present himself at Court, but no attempt was at any time made to revive the proceedings against him. By virtue of  
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this act the Lords Carnwath, Widrington, and Nairne, with many other persons of distinction concerned in the late rebellion, were discharged. Lord Nithisdale had previously effected his escape ; the Earl of Derwentwater and Lord Viscount Kenmuir only suffering the utmost rigour of the law.

In the course of this year (1718), the attention of the public was excited in a most uncommon degree, by a sermon preached before the King, at the Chapel-Royal, and published at his express command, by Dr. Benjamin Hoadley, Lord Bishop of Bangor, “ On the nature of the kingdom of CHRIST.” As the foundation of this memorable discourse, the Bishop selected the famous declaration of Christ to Pilate, the Roman procurator ; “ MY KINGDOM IS NOT OF THIS WORLD.” And the direct and undisguised object of it was, to prove “ that the kingdom of Christ, and the sanctions by which it is supported, were of a nature wholly intellectual and spiritual—that the CHURCH, taking the term in its utmost latitude of signification, did not, and could not, possess the slightest degree of AUTHORITY under any commission, or pretended commission, derived from him : That the church of England, and all other national churches, were merely civil or human institutions, established for the purposes of diffusing and perpetuating the knowlege and belief of Christianity ; which contained a system of truths, not in  
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their nature differing from other truths, excepting by their superior weight and importance ; and which were to be inculcated in a manner analogous to other truths, demanding only, from their more interesting import, proportionably higher degrees of care, attention, and assiduity in the promulgation of them." It is scarcely to be imagined in these times, with what degree of furious and malignant rancour, these plain, simple, and rational principles, were attacked by the zealots and champions of the church. On the meeting of the Convocation, a committee was appointed to examine this famous publication ; and a representation was quickly drawn up, in which a most heavy censure was passed upon it, as tending to subvert all government and discipline in the church of Christ, to reduce his kingdom to a state of anarchy and confusion, to impugn and impeach the royal supremacy in matters ecclesiastical, and the authority of the legislature to enforce obedience in matters of religion by civil sanctions. A sudden stop however was put to these disgraceful proceedings, by a royal prorogation ; and from this period, the Convocation has never been convened, but as a mere matter of form, and for the purpose of being again prorogued. Perhaps, however, in these more enlightened times, this assembly might be again permitted to resume its deliberative and legislative powers, with advantage

tage to the community—and in no other assembly could propositions of ecclesiastical reform originate, with so much effect or propriety. The controversy which thus commenced, was carried on for several years with great ability and animation on the part of the Bishop, aided by various excellent pens, though opposed by men, whose learning and talents gave an artificial lustre to bigotry and absurdity. No controversy, however, upon the whole, ever more fully and completely answered the purpose intended by it. The obscurity in which this subject had been long involved, was dissipated. The public mind was enlightened and convinced. CHURCH AUTHORITY, *the chimæra vomiting flames*, was destroyed; and the name of HODLEY will be transmitted from generation to generation, with increase of honor, of esteem, and grateful veneration. It would be injustice also to deny to the King himself, his share of praise for countenancing and supporting opinions so opposite to those which have usually constituted a part of the policy of princes; and which reflect equal credit upon his understanding and integrity. As a far more important proof however, of the liberal and benignant disposition of this Monarch, Earl Stanhope, his favourite, and confidential minister, presented to the House of Lords, Dec. 1718, a Bill for the repeal of the Occasional Conformity and Schism Acts, passed under the late administration ;



stration; and likewise such clauses of the Test and Corporation Acts, as operated to the exclusion of Protestant Dissenters from civil offices. The latter part of the Bill had an unexpected and formidable obstacle to encounter in the opposition of the Lord Chancellor Cowper, who joined the Tory Lords in sounding the alarm of DANGER to the CHURCH, should the Dissenters be admitted to the common rights and privileges of citizens in the state. Dr. Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, a prelate eminent for learning and general respectability of character, but who, since his elevation to the primacy, seemed to have lost sight in a great measure of those principles to which he owed his advancement; employed upon this occasion some arguments against the Dissenters, which were considered by his former friends as not a little extraordinary. He affirmed, "That the Acts this Bill proposed to repeal, were the main bulwarks of the English church; and though he had *all imaginable tenderness for well-meaning and conscientious Dissenters*, he was compelled to say, that many of that persuasion had made a wrong use of the *favor and indulgence* shewn them at the Revolution; it was therefore deemed necessary for the legislature to interpose, in order to put a stop to the scandalous practise of occasional conformity. As to the Act against Schism—the protest of the Lords against which, reprobating, in the most indignant

dignant terms, that detestable statute, he had himself signed—his Grace added, that the repeal of it was SUPERFLUOUS, as no advantage had been taken of the Act to the prejudice of the Dissenters\*.” In opposition to these *novel sentiments* of

\* It might be imagined, from that “tenderness to well-meaning Dissenters,” which this Prelate so ostentatiously professes, and which they no doubt are bound with suitable humility and gratitude to acknowledge, that the Dissenters are a weak and ignorant people, entertaining absurd notions on subjects of high and general concern, and wholly destitute of learning and ability to defend their own principles. But of this, not the present times only, but “the centuries to come,” will judge. As an amusing contrast to these sentiments of Archbishop Wake, it may not be improper to oppose those of his venerable predecessor Archbishop Tennison, who in the debate on the Occasional Conformity Bill, A. D. 1704, declared his decided disapprobation of the measure. Far from considering occasional conformity as “a scandalous practice,” or “dangerous to the church,” he affirmed, that it ought to be encouraged by all good churchmen, as having an evident tendency to conciliate the affections, and to moderate the prejudices, of the Dissenters; being in itself a laudable exercise of christian charity, and nowise incompatible with the strictest integrity. “The employing of persons,” said this excellent Prelate, “of a religion different from the established in civil offices, has been practised in all countries where liberty of conscience has been allowed. We have already gone farther in excluding Dissenters than any country has done. Whatever reasons there were to apprehend our religion in danger from Papists, when the Test Act was passed, cannot be applicable to the Dissenters at present. On the contrary, manifest inconveniences result from this exclusion.”

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his Grace, the Bishop of Bangor demonstrated "that the Acts styled by the Archbishop the bulwarks of the church, under whatever false colors they might be disguised, were Acts of real persecution: That if the *mere pretext* of self-preservation, or self-defence, was once admitted as a sufficient ground for passing laws of this nature, all the heathen persecutions against Christians, and all the Popish persecutions against Protestants, would be justified: That the church of England as by law established, stood not, and he trusted would never stand, in need of such miserable supports: That toleration was not a *favor*, or *indulgence*, but a natural right; and that the safety of the church was secured by no means so effectually, as by a regard to the just and equitable claims of their fellow-christians and fellow-citizens. He added,

that the ardent and intemperate zeal which many displayed for the interests of the church, was, he feared, principally incited by a regard to their own interests, and by a secret and fond attachment to the power, the honors, and the emoluments which appertain to it. The desire of power and riches was, he owned, natural to all; but reason and religion ought to restrain men from indulging it, to the injury or prejudice of others; or in any manner inconsistent with the general rights and liberties of mankind." These sentiments of the Bishop of Bangor were strongly enforced by Dr. Kennet Bishop of Peterborough,

who declared his opinion, that the repeal of the Acts in question would not be detrimental to the church, but would redound to her advantage and security. He affirmed that the evidence of history proved the church to be most safe and flourishing when the clergy did not affect more power than appertains to their share, and were tender of the rights and liberties of their fellow-subjects: But that arbitrary measures and persecutions first brought, as the experience of the last century sufficiently evinced, scandal and contempt upon the clergy, and, at last, ruin both upon church and state. The CHURCH, said this Prelate, is, I admit, a term of sacred and venerable import, and therefore it is, that in the mouths of bigots, or of malicious and designing men, it has produced such fatal effects. "The TEMPLE of the LORD—the TEMPLE of the LORD are we," was of old the boast of the seditious and abandoned among the Jews, and were used as a color and incentive to every evil purpose. The Bishop said, that the Dissenters, though the most zealous promoters of the Revolution, had hitherto been no gainers by it; for it was well known that they enjoyed the full benefits of toleration under King James. And he stated as a gross political absurdity, that they were incapacitated by the Test, from serving that government, of which they were allowed to be the firmest friends; and alluding to what had passed

passed in the course of the debate, he declared, that he hoped it would not be thought sufficient, in opposition to the plainest dictates of justice and equity, which called aloud for the repeal of these Acts, to say, "that the example of SWEDEN was otherwise."

In this memorable debate, no one distinguished himself more than Lord Lansdowne, who had imbibed in all their virulence, the antient principles of Toryism; who had been a steady and inveterate enemy to the Hanoverian succession; and who was happy to embrace this occasion of pronouncing an invective against the Dissenters, replete with malignant and sarcastic wit, and breathing a spirit which, unrestrained by external causes, would doubtless have displayed itself in all the terrors of the most sanguinary persecution. This nobleman declared, "That he always understood the Act of Toleration to be meant as an indulgence for tender consciences, not a license for hardened ones—and that the Act to prevent occasional conformity was designed only to correct a particular crime of particular men, in which none were included, but those followers of Judas who came to the Lord's supper for no other end but to sell and betray him. It is to me (said his Lordship) a matter of astonishment, to hear the merit of Dissenters so highly extolled and magnified within these walls. Who is there among us,

but can tell of some ancestor either sequestered or murdered by them? Who voted the Lords useless? The Dissenters.—Who abolished Episcopacy? The Dissenters.—Who destroyed freedom of Parliament? The Dissenters.—Who introduced government by standing armies? The Dissenters.—Who washed their hands in the blood of their martyred Sovereign? The Dissenters.—Have they repented? No—they glory in their wickedness at this day. That they have remained not only quiet, but have appeared zealous in the support of the present establishment, is no wonder: For who but themselves, or their favorers, have been thought worthy of countenance? If universal discontent pervades at this time all ranks of people throughout the nation, the reason is plain, flagrant, and notorious. It arises from the insolence and the presumption of the Dissenters—from their open insults of the clergy—from their public vindication of the murder of King Charles I. and their vile reflections upon the memory of Queen Anne, ever dear to the people of England; besides other indecent and arrogant provocations, too many to enumerate, too grievous to endure. And if all this is done, not only with impunity, but with authority and reward, is there not more than sufficient reason for jealousy? a jealousy, which this new attempt to break down all the fences and boundaries of the church at once, will certainly have

have no tendency to extinguish. . If indeed (concluded his Lordship) there are individuals amongst them who pretend to peculiar merit, let them stand forth, and clearly and explicitly state their claims—for God forbid but that all of them should have their deserts.”—If at this distance of time, and on a cool and impartial review of facts, we are compelled severely to censure the conduct of the Whigs, now exercising the entire powers of Government, as exhibiting plain indications of the rage and hatred characteristic of a political faction, it is not difficult to conjecture from this, and similar specimens of Tory eloquence, to what far more dangerous extremes of violence, the opposite faction, if triumphant, were prepared to resort. The speculative principles of the Whigs also being in their own nature just, beneficent, and generous; the spirit of their administration, after the first emotions of rancor and revenge were gratified, became insensibly mild, easy, and equitable: Whereas, had the Tories gained a permanent ascendancy, the certain foundation would have been laid of an internal and everlasting system of oppression, distraction, and calamity.

After long debate, the House agreed to leave out the clauses respecting the Corporation and Test Acts; in which state it was transmitted to, and passed by the Commons; and in the Royal Speech, at the close of the session, his Majesty expressed the

highest satisfaction at this signal instance of legislative wisdom and moderation \*.

Previous

\* Sir Robert Walpole, at this time in opposition, with a view to embarrass the measures of the Court, spoke and voted against this repeal : And he is said frequently to have expressed in the latter years of his life, his regret at having joined in the clamors of the High-Church party on this occasion. Lord Chesterfield, then a very young man, and in the service of the Prince of Wales, who at this period countenanced the opposition, voted on the same side with more sincerity : “ I thought it (says he) impossible for the honestest man in the world to be saved out of the pale of the church, not considering that matters of opinion do not depend upon the will—that it is as natural and allowable that another man should differ in opinion from me, as that I should differ from him ; and that if we are both sincere, we are both blameless, and should consequently have mutual indulgence for each other.” It may be transiently remarked, in answer to the virulent accusations of Lord Lansdowne, that it is the height of folly, as well as injustice, to charge the acts of Cromwell's usurpation upon the Dissenters or Presbyterians of the last century—when it is notorious, that they opposed them to the utmost of their power—and that 200 members of the House of Commons of that denomination were secluded by military violence from the House before the ordinance passed for the trial of the King. Had the condemnation of that merciless and perfidious tyrant—for such, notwithstanding his boasted private and personal virtues, he undoubtedly was—resulted from the unbiassed will of the nation, future ages might have applauded the act, though, as perpetrated by a desperate and lawless faction, in opposition to the public will, it is indeed the subject of just abhorrence. Let the guilt of the individuals concerned in this transaction, however, be what it may ; why are we, who have only an historical knowledge of the fact, and who live in another



Previous however to the recess of Parliament, a Bill was unexpectedly brought in under the sanction of the Government, for limiting the Peerage, by restraining the Crown from enlarging the present number of Peers by more than six new creations. This was generally considered as a measure not so much of policy as of resentment on the part of the Crown, eagerly and intemperately desirous to excite the cha-

another age of the world, called upon to express our penitence and contrition for it? Certainly, the service of the 30th of January is a political farce, upon which the wisdom of Government ought long ago to have dropped the curtain. There is indeed a charge omitted by Lord Lansdowne, but which might be properly urged against the Dissenters, as containing not fictitious, but real culpability. It is that, possessing the authority and confidence of the nation in the Convention Parliament of 1660, they had the unpardonable weakness to restore King Charles II. to the crown, without any previous limitations or conditions. Let the idolizers of Kings, who have hearts to feel, if not understandings to be convinced, view the interesting and affecting portrait now in the possession of Lord Elliot, of his illustrious ancestor, Sir John Elliot, who, with many other distinguished patriots, was, for his noble exertions in the cause of liberty, committed to the Tower, after the dissolution of the last of the early Parliaments of Charles I. He is drawn pale, languishing, and emaciated—but disdaining to make the abject submission required of him by the tyrant, he expired under the excessive rigors of his confinement, leaving this portrait as a legacy and memento to his posterity, and to mankind; who in the contemplation of such enormities, have reason to rejoice

“ When vengeance in the lurid air  
Lifts her red arm expos’d and bare,”

grin,

freedom and constitution of Parliaments in all future ages, that he was willing his prerogative should not stand in the way of so great and necessary a work." Certainly it would be harsh and uncandid to ascribe this apparent generosity of sentiment to the exclusive influence of invidious motives; but it may well be doubted whether the remedy proposed by the ministers of the Crown, for the abuse so reasonably apprehended, and which time has contributed rather to strengthen than impair, might not in its consequences be productive of political inconvenience still more serious than the evil it was intended to obviate.

In the session of 1719, also, the celebrated Declaratory Bill, for the better securing the dependency of Ireland upon the Crown of England, was introduced and passed; in which the supremacy of the appellent jurisdiction of the English House of Peers, and the right of the English Parliament to make laws to bind the kingdom of Ireland in all cases whatsoever, were asserted in a high tone, in consequence of the refractory spirit which had lately displayed itself in various instances in that kingdom. Nor was it conceivable at this period, by any effort of political sagacity, that Ireland would be in a situation, before the termination of the century, to extort from England an entire and absolute renunciation of these haughty and unjust pretensions. The Parliament of Ireland assembling

sembling July 1, 1719, the Duke of Bolton, Lord Lieutenant of that kingdom, in his speech, strongly urged the necessity of guarding against the designs of the disaffected, and declared, that it would be very pleasing to his Majesty, if any method could be found, not inconsistent with the security of the church, to render the Protestant Dissenters more useful and capable of serving his Majesty, and supporting the Protestant interest, than they now are—they having upon all occasions given sufficient proofs of their being well affected to his Majesty's person and government, and to the succession of the crown in his royal house. And this his Excellency declared he was expressly ordered to lay before the legislature, as a thing greatly importing his Majesty's service, and the national security. In consequence of this interposition, an Act passed to relieve the Dissenters from certain penalties inflicted by the existing laws ; but the repeal of the sacramental Test, to which the King plainly extended his views, could not be obtained by any effort of regal influence from the equity or complaisance of the present Parliament \*.

About

\* Nearly at this period the Earl of Stair, who had served his country for several years with distinguished ability, as Ambassador at the Court of Versailles, was recalled in consequence of a political difference between him and the Lords Stanhope and Sunderland, respecting the famous Law, raised by the Regent to the Comptroller-

About this period, the famous South-Sea Bill was introduced into the British House of Commons, by Mr. Aislaby, Chancellor of the Exchequer; the Earl of Sunderland presiding at the board of Treasury; and after long and able discussion, received the royal assent, April 7th, 1720. By this Bill, which proposed eventually to reduce all the different pub-

Comptroller-generalship of the Finances, and whose credit at the French Court, from the knowledge of his mischievous designs, the Ambassador had labored to subvert. In a letter to Mr. Secretary Craggs, dated February 14, 1720, he vindicates his public character and conduct with great spirit, and in a manner highly characteristic of his well-known firmness and elevation of mind. A few sentences it may be permitted as the privilege of a note to transcribe. "If (says he) Lord Stanhope has not gained Mr. Law, I am afraid we shall not find our account in his Lordship's supporting him, when he was ready to fall—in making him first minister, and recalling me from this Court, where my long stay should have enabled me to be better able to judge of their designs, and of their ways of working, than a stranger of greater capacity could possibly be. After the usage I meet with, I do not wonder to see that our ministers have so few friends. As to my revocation, if it was possible I should have a mind to stay in this country, you have made it impracticable—you have taken all effectual ways to destroy any personal credit I had with the Regent—you have made it plain to him, that I have no credit with the King—you are under a necessity of sending therefore another minister to this Court. As to the manner of my revocation, I do not care to make the grimace of desiring it for false reasons. I expect nothing, and I fear nothing. As to my behaviour when I come home, I shall ever be a faithful servant to the King, and act as a man in whom the love of his country is superior to all other considerations." *Hardwick State Papers.*

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lic securities into one grand aggregate fund, the South-Sea Company was invested with certain commercial privileges, and authorized to take in, by purchase or subscription, both the redeemable and irredeemable debts of the nation, to the amount of about thirty-three millions, at such rates and prices as should be agreed upon between the Company and the respective proprietors—a clause proposed in the House of Commons, for ascertaining what share of the capital stock of the Company should be vested in those proprietors of government stock, who might voluntarily subscribe, being most unwisely rejected. In return, the Company consented that the interest upon their original capital of 9,400,000*l.* as well as the interest upon the public debts, to be redeemed in the mode prescribed by the present Act, should, after Midsummer-day 1727, be reduced to four per cent. redeemable by Parliament; and exclusive of this reduction, the Company agreed to pay into the Exchequer four years and a half purchase of all the long and short annuities that should be subscribed, and one year's purchase of such long annuities as should not be subscribed; amounting, on the execution of the Act, to no less than seven millions; for raising which sum, they were impowered to open books of subscription, to grant annuities redeemable by the Company, and to convert the money so raised, into additional stock. It is evi-

dent, from the wild and extravagant terms of this contract, that it was never meant to be seriously fulfilled. In vain did the sagacity of Walpole discern, and his eloquence display, the mighty mischiefs contained in this casket of Pandora. In vain did he urge the acceptance of the equitable and rational proposals of the Bank. The House was fascinated by the dazzling and magnificent appearance of the South-Sea project; and the Bill passed with general applause, and by a vast majority of votes, 55 members only dividing against it. But in a short time, this mystery of iniquity began to unfold itself. The most artful and insidious methods were put in practice to delude the public with the notion of the vast emoluments eventually to be derived from the commercial intercourse which it was pretended would, with the consent of the Court of Madrid, and as an equivalent for the cession of Gibraltar and Minorca, be established with the empires of Mexico and Peru. The successive subscriptions filled with amazing rapidity, and the Court of Directors declaring a dividend of 30 per cent. for Christmas 1720, and 50 per cent. for no less than twelve years after, the transfer price of the Company's stock advancing in proportion to the public demand, rose from 130, which was the price it bore while the Bill was depending in Parliament, in a very short space of time to 1000; by which means an opportunity

tunity was offered, to those who were concerned in the project, or rather the plot, to make immense fortunes, before the bursting of this mighty bubble. And the stock falling with the same, or even greater rapidity, than that with which it had risen; vast numbers of adventurers—and such was the general infatuation, that upon this occasion the whole nation seemed to have become adventurers—awaking from their golden dreams of prosperity, found themselves reduced to a state of the most deplorable distress and ruin. On a parliamentary investigation of this dark and dangerous business, which was styled, in the report of the Secret Committee, “a train of the deepest villainy and fraud Hell ever contrived for the ruin of any nation;” it appeared, that transfers of the Company’s stock, to a very great amount, had been made to persons high in office, to facilitate the passing of the Bill—that the scandalous artifices practised by the Company, and their shameless abuse of the public confidence, had received not only the connivance but the encouragement of several, at least, of the Ministers: And Lord Sunderland and Mr. Aislaby were compelled to a precipitate and disgraceful resignation of their offices—the latter being also expelled the House, and committed to the Tower. Mr. Craggs, Secretary of State, was exempted only by the stroke of death, from a similar fate: And many other per-

sons of figure and consequence, who were found, on inquiry, more or less culpable, were variously punished; though, in the opinion of the exasperated public, not with an adequate degree of severity. Nevertheless, the House acted with a spirit and unanimity on this great occasion, which reflected upon their proceedings the highest honour; and sufficiently manifested the indignation they felt, at having been, under specious pretences, made the unintentional instruments of an injury so extensive, and a deception so dreadful.

Mr. Waller, son-in-law to Aislabbie, to whom South-Sea stock, to an immense amount, had been transferred, had preserved no minutes of his transactions; and pretended, on his examination, that he could not recollect for what persons or purposes he had accepted it. Sir John Blount, accounted the original projector, and one of the most guilty agents in this business, refusing to answer certain interrogatories put to him in the House of Lords by the Duke of Wharton; and being supported somewhat too peremptorily in his refusal, by Lord Stanhope; the Duke maliciously observed, that the government of the best princes was sometimes rendered intolerable to their subjects by bad ministers—mentioning the example of Sejanus, who had made the reign of Claudius hateful to the Romans. Conscious of the unfulfilled rectitude of his conduct, Lord Stanhope, in a transport



transport of anger, rose to speak ; and in consequence of his exertions, was seized with which compelled him to retire : interval of languishment and inspired in the evening of the next day, regretted by his Sovereign, and the general esteem and regard of the nation. On the decease of this nobleman, and the resignation of Sunderland, a new administration was formed ; and Lord Townshend, and Mr. Methuen, were recalled to the Court, were re-installed in their former offices : And Mr. Walpole—who being in the King's favour invested with the Order of the Bath assumed the title of Sir Robert Walpole, and was regarded as Prime Minister †. T

\* The King, as the Countess of Chesterfield, sent on the occasion, related to the respectability of "Memoirs of the Earl of Chesterfield," the vigour of this nobleman's death when at seventy, unable to suppress the emotions of his grief, and retired—his eyes being suffused with tears, he died, Feb. 1721. Sir Robert Walpole, First Lord of the Treasury, bore date A

† Though a real and very important principle was believed to exist in the Cabinet, previous to the subject of continental politics ; the Whigs, it must be remarked, may be traced

cious and vigorous resolutions adopted by Parliament, in pursuance of his recommendations, public credit was speedily and effectually restored.

Knight,

much less honorable source—the insatiable ambition of the Earl of Sunderland; whose cabals and intrigues had, from the death of the Earl of Halifax, divided the Court into two opposite and hostile parties. Lord Stanhope, who possessed the entire confidence of the King, and who had acquired a great ascendancy over him, was much disposed to favor the views, and was himself manifestly under the influence, of the artful Sunderland. Walpole and Townshend, finding themselves excluded from the secret councils of the King, and becoming every day more insignificant, determined upon a resignation: A vehement mutual resentment and aversion from this time subsisted between Stanhope and Walpole, which broke out on one occasion in an altercation and reciprocal crimination in the House of Commons so violent, that the House was obliged to interpose its authority, to prevent any disastrous consequences. And Mr. Hungerford observed, “that it became the members of that House, after the Oriental fashion, to avert their countenances, while these two great men, the Fathers of the State, were thus exposing each other’s nakedness.” After the disgrace of Sunderland, and the death of Stanhope, no shadow of competition remained; and Townshend and Walpole were invested with the full powers of government. But no sooner had they attained the summit of their wishes, than a violent jealousy arose between these quondam friends; and the influence of Walpole at length prevailing, Lord Townshend, after a long-protracted struggle, resigned his offices, and retired to his estates in Norfolk; where he passed his remaining years highly respected, amusing himself, and benefiting the country around him, with his agricultural experiments—to which there is an allusion in one of Pope’s

Knight, Cashier of the South-Sea Company, the apprehending of whom a royal proclamation had been issued, had escaped at a critical moment to the Continent; carrying with him the famous *Green Book*, which was supposed to contain the entire secret of the transaction. Being arrested at Tirlemont, by the vigilance of the English Regent at Brussels, application was made to the Marquis du Prie, Governor of the Low Countries, to send him up to justice. But answer was unexpectedly made by the Imperial Court, that this could not be done, consistently with the privileges of the States of Brabant—for by an article of the *Grande Entrée*, no person, against whom a criminal accusation is brought, can be removed for trial out of the province. It was thought that, in a matter of this momentous nature, his Imperial Majesty for whom England had conquered kingdoms might have prevailed upon the States to waive the privilege: And very pressing instances were made, for the surrender of Knight. But, in the interim, he effected a second escape from the clutches of Antwerp—and in the sequel, he rec

Pope's epistolary imitations of Horace—"All Town turnips, and all Grosvenor's mines." But these court-intrigues are amongst those arcana of State, which lie too deep for "men of common minds" to discuss. They are unfathomable mysteries, sacred as those of the *Bona Dea*: *PROCU-  
PROFANI*,

a free pardon. Vehement suspicions, therefore, arose, that Knight's evidence was too decisive to be produced; and that the late Minister had still sufficient influence to screen himself from that punishment, which the whole nation believed him to merit, and from which his superior adroitness of management only protected him.

Lord SUNDERLAND did not long survive his dismissal from his high office; but died April 1722, leaving behind him a character which bore a striking analogy to that of his father—insidious, faithless, ambitious, excelling in all the arts of courtly address, and distinguished by his extent of political knowledge and sagacity, though he attained not to the dignity of true wisdom, which is inseparably connected with rectitude of heart and conduct. Nearly at the same time expired the celebrated JOHN Duke of MARLBOROUGH, to whom Sunderland was closely allied, by marriage with his eldest daughter. So variously has the character of this great man been delineated, that it is no easy task clearly to ascertain the truth. With respect to political probity, however, he seems not inferior to the generality of his cotemporaries. He has been accused of base ingratitude in the desertion of his royal master and benefactor, King James II. But this desertion took place at a time when it was not unattended with danger: And there appears in his conduct at that great political crisis, nothing  
incon-

inconsistent with the supposition, that his motives were laudable and patriotic. And surely no private obligation can be of force, to supersede the duties we owe to our country. It is, indeed, far more difficult to justify the correspondence which he afterwards carried on with the abdicated monarch: But this guilt he appears to have shared with so many other distinguished, and, upon the whole, respectable persons; that it cannot be imputed to him as a subject of peculiar reproach. The truth is, that a secret suspicion and apprehension pervading the minds of the bulk of the nation, that the exiled family would, by some revolution in politics, be one day restored, as in the person of King Charles II. it had once before been; many, perhaps a majority of those who acted a conspicuous part in public life, allowed themselves, by a too lax political morality, to entertain a clandestine correspondence with the Court of St. Germaine's, with a view to avert the effects of its indignation, in case the actual state of things should be reversed, but who were far from wishing to contribute to the acceleration of such a catastrophe. And it is evident that the Court of St. Germaine's was the perpetual dupe of these egregious artifices. The military talents of the Duke of Marlborough transcend all praise, and may be set with advantage in competition with

those of any commander ancient or modern \*. To Marlborough alone, no one has ventured to impute either error or misfortune. In his political capacity, he was a most able and successful negotiator: And though, in consequence of his early initiation into the brilliant and dissipated circles of the Court, necessarily and grossly illiterate; all defects of this nature were more than compensated by the native excellence of his understanding, the fascination of his manners, and his profound knowledge of mankind—the fruit, not of abstract speculation, but of actual observation and long experience. His person was eminently graceful, and his countenance noble and engaging: His disposition was mild, his deportment affable, and the general tenor of his private and social life regular and unblemished. He has been, indeed, usually represented as deeply tinctured with the vice of avarice: But though he was, doubtless, eager in the accumulation of riches, it does not appear that he degraded the dignity of his station and character,

\* When Prince Eugene was in England, during the administration of Lord Oxford, being one day entertained at the table of the Lord Treasurer, that Minister politely remarked, that he might congratulate himself on having for his guest the first General in Europe: To which his Highness, in allusion to the recent disgrace of the Duke of Marlborough, replied, That if it were so, it was to his Lordship he was indebted for the pre-eminence.

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by the parsimony of his expences. And he is known to have resisted with firmness and magnanimity the immense offers made to him in the name of LOUIS XIV. by the Marquis de Torcy at the conferences of Gertruydenberg. In the last years of his life he exhibited an affecting proof of the imbecility of human nature and the vanity of human greatness\*—leaving upon the public mind an impresson of compassion, which the unexampled pomp of his funeral obsequies did not tend to weaken.

A vehement controversy having recently arisen on the subject of the TRINITY, chiefly in consequence of the learned tracts published in opposition to the established doctrine by the famous Professor Whiston, the University of Oxford in full convocation resolved “that the solemn thanks of that body should be returned to the Earl of Nottingham, for his most noble defence of the Catholic faith, contained in his answer to Mr. Whiston’s letter concerning the eternity of the Son of God and of the Holy Ghost.” And at the instance of this theological Statesman, a Bill was introduced into the House of Peers for the suppression of blasphemy

- \* “ In life’s last scene what prodigies surprize !  
Fears of the brave, and follies of the wise !  
From MARLBOROUGH’S eyes the streams of dotage flow,  
And Swift expires—a driveller and a show.”

JOHNSON’S Im. of JUV. Sat. 10.

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and profaneness; which enacted, that if any one spoke or wrote against the Being of a God, the divinity of Jesus Christ or the Holy Ghost, the doctrine of the Trinity, the truth of the Christian religion, or the divine inspiration of the scriptures, he should suffer imprisonment for an indefinite term, unless in a certain form prescribed he should publicly renounce and abjure his errors. And by a clause in this Bill, the Archbishops and Bishops within their respective jurisdictions, and the Justices of Peace in their several counties at their quarter session, were authorized to summon any Dissenting Teacher, and to require his subscription to a declaration of faith containing the articles above enumerated; and upon his refusal, it was enacted, that he should be *ipso facto* deprived of the benefit of the Act of Toleration. The Lords being summoned on the second reading of this Bill (May 1721), Dr. WAKE, Archbishop of Canterbury, sealed his apostacy from the principles of civil and religious liberty, by moving to have it committed. Upon which Lord Onslow rose, and declared "that though he was himself zealously attached to the doctrines of the Church of England, he would never consent to support even the truth itself by persecution; and he moved that the Bill might be THROWN OUT." He was seconded by the Duke of Wharton, who said, that having been himself frequently accused of impiety and irreligion,



religion\*, he conceived that he could not more effectually vindicate his character from these imputations, than by opposing to the utmost a measure

\* This is the Nobleman whose character is so happily delineated by POPE, in his Epistle to Lord Viscount Cobham :

— “ WHARTON the scorn and wonder of our days,  
 Whose ruling passion is the lust of praise,  
 Born with what'er could win it from the wise ;  
 Women and fools must like him—or he dies.  
 Though wondering Senates hung on all he spoke,  
 The Club must hail him master of the joke.  
 Shall parts so various aim at nothing new ?  
 He'll shine a TULLY and a WILMOT too.  
 Thus with each gift of nature or of art,  
 And wanting nothing but an honest heart,  
 Grown all to all—from no one vice exempt,  
 And most contemptible, to shun contempt ;  
 His passion still to covet general praise,  
 His life to forfeit it a thousand ways—  
 He'dies sad outcast of each Church and State ;  
 And, harder still—flagitious, yet not great.”

There seems a remarkable resemblance between the character of this Nobleman and that of the last VILLIERS Duke of Buckingham, described with such masterly strokes of genius under the appellation of ZIMRI in Dryden's *Abraham and Ahithophel*, and like him,

“ Beggar'd by fools—whom still he found too late ;  
 He had his jest—and they had his estate.”

On leaving England with a ruined constitution and fortune, he entered into the service of the Pretender then patronized by the Court of Madrid ; and receiving, when in that city, a letter from his Sovereign the King of England, commanding his return,

measure so repugnant to the spirit of Christianity. And taking a bible from his pocket, he excited the amazement of the House by reading with much gravity many passages from the sacred volume, containing exhortations to universal charity, meekness, and mutual forbearance. The Earl of Peterborough, with uncommon boldness and happiness of expression, declared, that though he was for a Parliamentary King, he was not for a Parliamentary GOD or a Parliamentary Religion; and that if this Bill were to pass, he should be ambitious of a seat in the Conclave of Cardinals, as more honorable than that which he occupied in the British House of Peers. Dr. Kennet, Bishop of Peterborough, protested, that he NEVER would be concerned in the execution of such a law—and he earnestly hoped that his brethren on the bench would not concur in the establishment of a PROTESTANT INQUISITION. The Lords Cowper and Townshend also spoke with much ability against this infamous and execrable Bill; by which a pretended regard for the honor of religion was, as usual, made a pretext for the gratification of the

return home, he is said to have thrown it scornfully out of the coach window. After running a rapid and astonishing career of profligacy and extravagance, he expired—"with not a friend to close his eyes," at a convent near Terragona in Spain, A. D. 1731, when he had not completed the thirty-second year of his age,

most

most malignant passions—a Bill, which openly and impudently avowed and adopted the most profligate practices of the Romish church—and the principle of which, if once admitted, would lead to all the horrors of the rack, the stake, and the wheel\*. It was on the other hand supported by the Earl of Nottingham, the Lords Bathurst and Trevor,

\* It has been justly observed, that every man disclaims the character and appellation of a persecutor. GARDINER and BONNER doubtless professed themselves animated not by a spirit of persecution, but of *holy zeal* for the preservation of the Catholic faith in its genuine purity. And if the Earl of NOTTINGHAM had been left to decide upon the fate of the learned Professor his antagonist, he might very possibly have had the *moderation and candor* to say, in the words of the well-known epistle of King James I. to the States of Holland, in relation to the famous Vorstius, “that he would not presume positively to pronounce what resolutions it might be proper to take respecting him; but SURELY NEVER HERETIC BETTER DESERVED THE FLAMES.” On account of his temporary junction with the Whigs during the administration of Oxford, the Earl of Nottingham is satirized in various *jeux-d’esprit* of Swift, under the appellation of DISMAL. A humorous parody of the celebrated speech of this Nobleman, in opposition to the Treaty of Utrecht, thus concludes :

“Since the Tories have thus disappointed my hopes,  
And will neither regard my figures nor tropes,  
I’ll *speech* against peace while DISMAL’s my name,  
And be a true Whig, while I am—NOT-IN-GAME.”

In the “Windfor Prophecy” he is styled, in allusion to his name and original title, Baron Finch of Daventry, “the tall  
black

Trevor, the Bishops of London, Winchester, Litchfield and Coventry, and various others. But on a division, the Bill was rejected by a majority of sixty voices against thirty-one.

At this period died Pope Clement XI. who had sat in the papal chair above twenty years—a man respectable for his talents, but haughty, inflexible, and zealously devoted to the interests of the House of Stuart. He was succeeded by Benedict XIII. of the House of Conti.

Although the pernicious tendency of the continental connections of England had been the constant theme of Mr. Walpole's eloquence while in opposition to the Court, one of the first measures of his administration was to move for a subsidy to Sweden, with whom an alliance offensive and defensive had been just concluded—a British squadron being also at this very time cruising in the Baltic for the protection of that kingdom against the designs of Russia. So that, as Lord Moleworth observed, "We were not only required

black Daventry Bird." And in the ballad on the surrender of Dunkirk he is again complimented :

" Sunderland's run out of his wits,  
And DISMAL double-dismal looks ;  
Wharton can only swear by fits,  
And strutting Hal is off the hooks.  
Old Godolphin, full of spleen,  
Made false moves and lost his Queen."

to assist the Swedes with whom we had been so long at variance, but to purchase at an enormous price the permission to assist them. His Lordship affirmed, that our engagements were inconsistent and contradictory—that our politics were not only variable, but incomprehensible to every man who, knowing merely the state of Great Britain, was unapprized of the several petty interests of the Electorate, which were the secret springs of our transactions abroad—that we were in turn the allies and the dupes of all nations—that if such solicitude for the restoration of the conquests made by Russia upon Sweden were reasonable, it was incumbent upon Hanover to set the example by the restoration of Bremen and Verden, and of Prussia our ally by that of Pomerania—that whatever might be the connections or engagements of Hanover, Great Britain had neither any interest nor any right to intermeddle in the affairs of the Empire, and that the friendship or enmity of the powers of the Baltic was of little importance to England, as we procured nothing from the kingdoms of the North which we could not with more advantage import from our own colonies in America, were proper encouragement held out to them. His Lordship acknowledged that the distressed condition to which the Swedes were reduced would be really worthy of compassion, could we forget that they had been the authors in a great

measure of their own misfortunes, by their tame submission to a despotic tyrannical Prince, who had sacrificed their substance in pursuit of his rash and unjust designs; and that any nation which followed their example deserved the same fate.—His Lordship touched on the affairs of the Dutchy of Mecklenburg, which he insinuated to have been the secret cause of the rupture with the Czar; and entered into a detail of the treaties of Roschild and Travendahl, in order to shew how widely we had deviated from engagements of which we were ourselves the guarantees. His Lordship said he would go as far as any man to maintain and support the honor and dignity of the Crown of Great Britain, but he would never consent to squander, in the mode now recommended, what yet remained of the wealth and resources of the nation.” The vote of supply at length passed, not without much angry objection and difficulty. The terms of the treaty of peace with Spain also, when laid before Parliament (October 1721), underwent very severe censure. It was said, that as the war was undertaken without provocation, so the peace was concluded without advantage—that the Spanish fleet had been attacked without any declaration of war, while amicable negotiations were carrying on at Madrid: And by an article of the treaty, we now submitted to the reproachful condition of restoring the ships so captured, or of paying the full

full value of those previously disposed of: That the trade with Spain, which constituted one of the most valuable branches of the British commerce, had been interrupted and endangered, and the interests of England wantonly and daringly sacrificed to an obstinate predilection for that Germanic system of politics with which we had no national concern: That the navy-debt was increased to an immense amount, by keeping seamen in pay in order to maintain fleets in the Mediterranean and the Baltic, not for the service of Great Britain, but for the preservation of the King's acquisitions in the Empire. The Court however, now strengthened by the recent coalition of the Whigs, set all opposition at defiance, and the new Minister soon proved himself superior to all his predecessors in the art of adroit and dextrous parliamentary management.

In the course of this session a singular petition was presented to Parliament from that respectable class of citizens known by the appellation of Quakers. It is a well-known tenet of this sect, distinguished by its harmless peculiarities, that oaths even judicially administered are in their own nature unlawful; and the Legislature had long since wisely and indulgently passed an Act to render their solemn affirmation in all matters of civil concern, equivalent to an oath. The object of the present application was the omission of the words

“ in the presence of Almighty God,” in the legal form of that affirmation ; it being justly alleged, that while those words remained, the essence of an oath was preserved. The Court, ever ready under this reign to extend and establish the civil and religious privileges of the subject, countenanced and supported this application, and a Bill for this purpose passed the House of Commons without difficulty. But in its passage through the House of Lords, the spirit of bigotry, now awakened from its transient slumber, displayed itself in all its malignity. Dr. Atterbury Bishop of Rochester observed, that he knew not why such a distinguishing mark of indulgence should be allowed to a set of people who were hardly Christians. And a petition was presented by the Archbishop of York to the House, from the London Clergy, “ expressing a serious concern lest the minds of good men should be grieved and wounded, and the enemies of Christianity triumph when they should see such condescension made by a Christian Legislature to a set of men who renounce the divine institutions of Christianity, particularly that by which the faithful are initiated into this religion, and denominated Christians.” This petition was rejected by the House, not without symptoms of disgust and contempt : And the Bill finally passed, though accompanied with a protest signed by several Lords eager to record their own disgrace and folly.

The



The first Septennial Parliament of Great Britain was dissolved March 1722, and early in the following month of October the King opened the Parliament with a speech from the throne, in which he expressed his concern in being obliged to inform them, that a dangerous conspiracy had been for some time past formed, and was still carrying on, against his person and government in favor of the Pretender. His Majesty declared the discoveries made at home, the information obtained from his ministers abroad, and the intelligence received from the various Powers in alliance with him in different parts of Europe, had afforded him ample and concurrent proofs of this wicked design. Some of the conspirators were already apprehended, secured, and endeavors used for apprehending others—and he referred to the wisdom of Parliament the measures necessary to be taken for the safety of the kingdom—expressing at the same time his firm belief that the hopes and expectations of their common enemies were very ill founded in supposing that the discontents occasioned by losses and misfortunes of individuals, however industriously fomented, were turned into disaffection and a spirit of rebellion. “Had I, said this monarch in very animated and dignified language, since my accession to the throne ever attempted any innovation in our established religion; had I in any one instance invaded the liberty or property of

subjects, I should less wonder at any endeavor to alienate the affections of my people, and draw them into measures that can end in nothing but their own destruction. But to hope to persuade a free people, in full enjoyment of all that is dear and valuable to them, to exchange freedom for slavery, the Protestant religion for Popery, and to sacrifice at once the price of so much blood and treasure as have been spent in defence of our present establishment, seems an infatuation not to be accounted for.—Your own interest and welfare call upon you to defend yourselves.—I rely upon the Divine protection, the support of my Parliament, and the affections of my people, which I shall endeavor to preserve by continuing to make the laws of the realm the rule and measure of all my actions.”

On the communication of this intelligence, a very great and general alarm was excited in the nation. A considerable augmentation of the forces was immediately voted; the Habeas-corpus Act was suspended, contrary to all precedent, for no less than twelve months. On the requisition of the King, a body of troops was held by the States-General in readiness to embark from Holland, and six regiments were likewise ordered from Ireland. And both Houses joined in expressing the strongest detestation and abhorrence of this “traitorous and unnatural conspiracy.” Mr. Walpole affirmed to the House, “that this wicked design was formed about

Christmas

Christmas last ; that the conspirators had application to certain foreign potentates for but being disappointed in their expectation abroad, they had resolved desperately to confiding in their own strength, and depending upon the general discontent and commotion excited by the failure of the fatal South-Sea plot that the plan was to seize upon the Tower Bank, and the Exchequer, and to secure by violence the persons of the King and the Prince that Government had received information of a plot ever since May last, but two terms commencing at that time together, it was thought advisable to postpone the apprehending of the conspirators till the long vacation, that no advantage might be taken of the Habeas-corpus Act. An exact account of this detestable conspiracy he assured them that it would in time be laid before them." But the plot itself seems to have been discovered when it was in embryo, and it is probable that no regular project of invasion or insurrection had been devised or matured ; nor have the circumstances of the story either of its nature or extent ever been fully developed. Various persons, of no distinction, amongst whom were the Duke of Norfolk and the Lords Orrery, North, and others, were apprehended on a very strong presumption of their concurrence in this conspiracy. Penalties were inflicted by Act of Parliament

several of the conspirators. But one only suffered capital punishment—Christopher Layer, a Barrister of the Temple, convicted of high treason in enlisting men for the service of the Pretender. He was repeatedly reprieved, and much endeavor was used to procure from him a full confession; but he persisted in a resolute refusal. Beyond comparison, however, the trial which attracted most of the public attention was that of the celebrated Atterbury Bishop of Rochester, who was found to be a party in this conspiracy, or at least confidentially privy to it: And he was, by a Bill which passed both Houses by great majorities, deprived of his episcopal dignity, and sentenced to perpetual banishment. Mr. Yonge, the mover of the Bill, declared this Prelate to be a disgrace and dishonor to a Church conspicuous for its loyalty; that his holy function and elevated station, with the solemn oaths he had taken, were the most unpardonable aggravations of his crime; and he concluded with applying to him the denunciation authorized by warrant of holy writ—"Let his habitation be desolate, and let no man dwell therein, and his bishopric let another take." The declaration of the Pretender, framed for the occasion, and dated from Lucca, was by both Houses voted to be a false, insolent, and traitorous libel, and ordered to be burnt at the Royal Exchange. In this declaration the Pretender, with  
singular

singular modesty and all the appearance of  
 proposed, that if King George would relin-  
 him the throne of Great Britain, he wo-  
 return consent to his retaining the title of  
 his native dominions, and would invite al-  
 States to confirm it ; And he likewise most  
 ously engaged to leave to King George his  
 sion to the British dominions secure, where-  
 due course, his natural right should take  
 An address was presented to the Throne  
 two Houses, expressing their "astonishment  
 extravagant presumption of this declaration  
 repeating their assurances to support his M-  
 against the impotent efforts of an attainted fu-  
 bred up in the maxims of tyranny and suc-  
 tion." The proofs in support of the  
 against the Bishop of Rochester being some-  
 deficient in legal precision, though suffi-  
 clear to induce an entire conviction of his  
 much clamor was excited by the Bill of B-  
 ment passed by the Commons against him; th-  
 had not a spirit of lenity pervaded the proce-  
 of Government on this occasion, he would sc-  
 have escaped a Bill of Attainder. When it  
 under the discussion of the Lords, the Du-  
 Wharton, in a speech of uncommon ability  
 posed what he styled the weakness, insuffici-  
 and contradiction of the evidence against  
 Bishop ; and added, that such proceedings, li-

stone of Syfiphus, frequently rolled back on those who were the chief promoters of them. Lord Cowper, now in opposition to the Court, enlarged much on the danger and injustice of swerving from the fixed rules of evidence. He affirmed, “ that the penalties inflicted by this Bill were either much greater or much less than the Bishop deserved ; that whatever might be the nature or extent of the accusation, the law of the land and the established forms of judicial procedure ought to be strictly adhered to, not only in the courts below, but in the high court of Parliament itself ; that every Englishman had a right to a trial by law ; that this was in a more especial manner the privilege of a Peer of the Realm. And the political necessity which was alleged in vindication of this measure he did not believe to exist ; the Government was sufficiently secured by the powers vested in the Crown in consequence of the suspension of the Habeas-corpus Act, and the additional troops raised for its defence.” And Lord Bathurst, in the course of an eloquent speech on the same side, turning to the Bench of Bishops, sarcastically remarked, “ that he could not account for the inveterate hatred and malice which some persons bore the learned and ingenious Bishop of Rochester, unless they were intoxicated with the infatuation of certain tribes of savage Indians, who believed they inherited not only the spoils but even

even the abilities of any great enemy whom killed in battle." Notwithstanding the reason of Lord Cowper, it seems erroneous and to deny the general position, that deviations the established forms of judicial procedure extraordinary cases are justifiable, and even necessary, where the public safety is concerned—proof that the executive justice of the State departs from that *substantial justice* which is founded in the nature of things. So entirely opposite were now the politics of France from those which had prevailed in the late reign, that upon this occasion the Republic offered twenty battalions of veteran troops to the King of Great Britain, in order to defend his person and government against the attempts of his family which Louis XIV. had employed the force of his kingdom to protect and restore—this offer it was judged prudent to decline.

That the vengeful and merciless spirit by which the Whigs had been actuated when first restored to power, was now, notwithstanding the pretence of rigor of the late proceedings, most sensibly altered by the reversal at this period of the Act of Attainder passed against Lord Bolingbroke, is a demonstrable proof. The Bishop of Rochester, on his arrival at Calais, hearing that Lord Bolingbroke was waiting there for a passage, exclaimed, with emotion from which much was inferred, "I

we are exchanged." This nobleman however, though restored to his honors and paternal estate, was still excluded from a seat in the House of Peers, through the inflexible opposition of the Minister, who clearly discerned and dreaded the consequences which might eventually result from the irresistible force of his eloquence and talents, when exerted in that grand field of action. Fired with ambition to resume his former station in public life, and a philosopher only through necessity, he cherished a fixed and mortal resentment against Sir Robert Walpole; and regardless of his recent obligations, in a short time joined with eagerness that opposition to his administration, so celebrated for the abilities of its members, and which began now, to assume a regular and systematic form. The chagrin of Lord Bolingbroke was undoubtedly enhanced by seeing his former coadjutors in office, Lord Oxford and Lord Harcourt, in full possession of those high privileges which he vainly and incessantly pined to regain. The latter of these noblemen was even received into an high degree of favor at Court; which, it is said, occasioning some severe reflections from the passionate lips of Atterbury, Lord Harcourt was provoked to retaliate, by declaring, that on the Queen's death the Bishop came to him and Lord Bolingbroke, and said, nothing remained but immediately to proclaim King JAMES—offering,



ing, if they would give him a guard, to put  
his lawn sleeves, and head the procession \*.

\* This celebrated Prelate, his learned friend Dr. Smollett presenting him, A. D. 1710, to the Upper House of Convocation, as Prolocutor, most elegantly styles, “*Vir in literarum genere hospes, in plerisque artibus et studiis feliciter exercitatus—in maxime perfectis literarum disciplinis perfectissimus.*” His eloquence and learning, none, I have presumed to dispute; and his public character has a dignity which arises from firmness and consistency. The violence and virulence of his temper he gave early proof, in his reply to the famous treatise of Dr. WAKE, “On the Necessity of Christian Princes, and the Rights, Powers, and Privileges of Convocations:” “Were (says he) all the assertions which Dr. Wake affirms, strictly true and justifiable, yet whether he has made the point so heartily as he does, and shewing himself so unwilling to prove the Church to have no rights and privileges, I leave his friends to consider. But when all a man advances, is not only ill-founded, but ill-founded, and his principles are as false as they are dangerous, there are no names and censures too bad to be bestowed on such writers and their writings.” One cannot sufficiently admire the effrontery of the insinuation, that whether the AUTHORITY claimed by the Church be well or ill-founded, in all events incumbent on the clergy, *as such*, to defend and maintain it. For this performance an honorary degree was conferred on Atterbury by the University of Oxford. But in animadverting upon it, Bishop Burnet happily remarks, “that the animosity with which it was received, when the temper and spirit in which it is written are considered, forms a much stronger argument against the expediency of a Convocation, than any he can bring in favor of it.” And Dr. Wake himself declared “that such a spirit of wrath and uncharitableness pervaded

conspiracy, it proceeded from motives of prudence, and not for want of zeal in the Pretender's cause. A general charge of this kind may, indeed, form a sufficient ground for a *preamble* to a Bill of this nature; but the enacting part ought to be supported by specific facts, clearly and plainly proved; otherwise we may involve the innocent in a punishment due only to the guilty. Because *some* of the Roman Catholics are *suspected* to have been concerned in this conspiracy, shall the whole body be not only charged with the guilt, but actually suffer the penalty? The law supposes every man to be accountable for his own actions, and doth not require what is in no man's power to perform—that he should be answerable for the conduct of another. As to the disaffection of the Catholics in the present instance, I appeal to the House, whether any mention is made in the Report, of any Roman Catholic of eminence, except a noble Duke, to whom a letter is supposed to have been written, implying his knowledge and approbation of the conspiracy. How unjust then, upon so slender a suspicion, to inflict the severities enacted by this law, upon numerous innocent families who harbor no dangerous designs, and wish for no political revolution! If you abandon the ground of disaffection, and make their religion, supposed so inimical to that established in this country, the pretext for this measure; it is a species of persecution odious it  
itself,

endeavors of the Papists to subvert the present  
 py establishment; though he professed that he  
 not take upon him to charge any particular  
 among them, with being concerned in the  
*horrid conspiracy*. But it was well known,  
 many of them had been engaged in the *late*  
 lion; and the present plot, he averred, was  
 trived at Rome, and the English Catholics  
 not only well-wishers to it, but had contri-  
 buted large sums to carry it on. And he thought  
 highly reasonable, that the fomenters of the  
 lic disturbances should themselves bear the  
 share of the burdens, which must be neces-  
 sarily incurred for their suppression." This propo-  
 sition was hearkened to with extreme disapprobation  
 and incurred heavy censure, not only from  
 partizans of the Tory and Jacobite factions,  
 but from many of the most enlightened and intelli-  
 gent members of the House. And it was so ably  
 debated by Mr. Lutwyche in particular, in a  
 speech delivered on the motion of commitment,  
 that it merited a distinct and most honorable trans-  
 action for the instruction of succeeding times.

"The Gentlemen (said this excellent  
 and senator) who have spoken in favor of this  
 have urged the invariable and inveterate  
 of the Catholics against the present establish-  
 ment and have asserted, that if they did not shew  
 themselves openly against the Government in the

of open sedition and rebellion, will they not embrace any opportunity to free themselves from this intolerable tyranny, thinking that under no form of government they can receive worse treatment? It is alleged that, for many years past, the legal impositions have not been levied from the Catholics; and that a much larger sum than the present, is actually due from them, if the forfeitures were rigorously exacted. The fact I will not dispute: But the question to be resolved is—Why do you now change your lenity into cruelty? The executive government, it is evident, conceived the terrors of the penal code to be intended for security, not revenge. And in consequence of the peaceable demeanor of the Catholics, these acts were virtually suspended. If these statutes were, therefore, justly and wisely dispensed with before, why are they to be put in execution now? At the æra of the Revolution, the Roman Catholics were far more numerous and powerful than at present. It was well known that they held correspondence, and were deeply engaged in the interests of King James, who was openly supported by France. At that period, the competition for the Crown was indeed of a serious nature, and greatly different from that originating from the wild and extravagant pretensions of a forlorn fugitive, expelled from all the courts of Europe, and obliged to seek for shelter and sanctuary at Rome. But  
King

King WILLIAM, though warned of the dangers of his situation, fully apprized of the severity of the laws enacted against the Papists, and repeatedly urged to carry them into strict execution, resolutely and constantly refused compliance. That great Monarch knew that no free State could long subsist in a departure from the rule of equal and impartial justice. It has been said, that the liberties of England can never be in danger, but from the Roman Catholics: The truth is, that the chief danger arises from the divisions and animosities subsisting between the various denominations of Protestants in this country—animosities arising from an erroneous and contracted policy, and perpetuated by artful and ambitious leaders for their own purposes, by exciting unnecessary fears and groundless jealousies. I know, said this enlightened senator, no better rule of government, than to punish the guilty, and to protect the innocent—but precipitately to treat as criminal, a body of men, because you suspect them to be guilty, when farther inquiry and better information may prove them to be innocent, is no very satisfactory mode of displaying the impartiality of your proceedings. Considering the great vigilance of the ministry, and their diligence in unravelling the most subtle contrivances of the conspirators, I think it very unlikely that any considerable foreign remittances made by the Roman Catholics should have escaped their

notice. To single out one set of men, therefore, and upon a mere supposition to inflict penalties upon them, which the clearest proof of guilt only could warrant, is an act impossible to reconcile to that justice and equity which ought invariably to guide and direct the proceedings of this assembly."

This iniquitous Bill, which was, in its progress through the House, extended to all Nonjurors, notwithstanding these irrefragable reasonings, finally passed by a majority of 217 against 168 voices, and received the royal assent; on which occasion a speech was made by Sir Spencer Compton, the Speaker, shewing, or at least endeavouring to shew, the policy and necessity of this measure, from the countenance and support given by the Papists and Nonjurors to the "late horrid and execrable conspiracy." As no oppression, however, of a similar nature was afterwards attempted, there is reason to believe that the generous efforts now made in the cause of justice and humanity, were not wholly lost. And if the magnitude of the subject may be deemed not such as to require so particular a detail, it ought to be remarked, that the arguments of Mr. Lutwyche are not of a temporary or local kind, but comprize truths of universal and perpetual importance and obligation.

On the 27th of May 1723, an end was put to this long and interesting Session by a speech  
from

from the throne; in which his Majesty expressed warm terms “his satisfaction at the proceedings of the Parliament, and in particular at those expressions of legislative authority which were necessary in this crisis of danger, for the punishment of offenders whose guilt there was no room to doubt, and whose wicked arts and practices had been brought to such perfection, that they confidently carried their traitorous projects in defiance of the law, from an assurance of being able to elude it.

EXTRAORDINARY AFFAIRS, his Majesty after calling him abroad this summer, he doubted not that the wisdom and vigilance of his good subjects would prevent their common enemies from taking advantage of his absence: And that they would lengthen cease to flatter themselves with the imagination of being able to subvert our religion and present establishment.”

About this period, Philip V. King of Spain, yielding himself up without reserve to vain and superstitious fervors of devotion, retired to the monastery of St. Ildefonso; whence he made a solemn renunciation of the crowns of Castile and Arragon, in favor of his eldest son, Don Joseph, Prince of Asturias—“committing him and his people to the powerful protection of the HOLY VIRGIN,” under whose auspices the young king ventured to assume the reins of government without the usual formality of assembling the cortes.

Cortez. But, dying soon after his elevation to the throne, the abdicated monarch was reluctantly prevailed upon, again to encounter the cares and burdens of royalty. Devoting himself, nevertheless, entirely to monkish exercises of religion, the task of government devolved upon the Queen; whose influence in the Spanish counsels had been, for some time past, very conspicuous.

The public tranquillity being now perfectly restored, the King put in execution his resolution to revisit his dominions on the Continent, where new and unexpected political connections and combinations were taking place, by no means favorable to the views and wishes of his Britannic Majesty. The enmity between Russia and Sweden had been at length terminated by a treaty concluded at Nyftad, A. D. 1721; conformably to which, the fertile and extensive provinces of Livonia, Ingria, Esthonia, and Carelia, were confirmed to Russia, and the barren deserts of Finland, only, restored to Sweden. This peace was quickly matured into an union of counsels and designs, which gave extreme umbrage and uneasiness to the King of England; who, having ground to believe the immediate object of this coalition to be the restoration of the Dutchy of Sleswic to the Duke of Holstein, trembled for the safety of his favorite and contiguous acquisitions of Bremen and Verden—the security of all these possessions resting only



on the tottering basis of the mutual guaranty between Denmark and Hanover. After a short and anxious suspense, it was ascertained that the treaty of Stockholm, signed February 1724, contained a secret article, by which the high contracting parties obliged themselves, "in the most effectual manner to use their *good offices*, for the relief of the Duke of Holstein—who was nearly related to both—to the Dutchy of Sleswic; and if that should prove ineffectual, *other methods should be taken* of. In particular, application should be made to the powers who stood engaged with them, to guarantee the said Dutchy to the said Duke, of which England by the treaty of Travendahl was leaving it more immediately to his IMPERIAL MAJESTY, to concert such measures as might with the greatest security for ever cut off this source of *infinite troubles* to the North." A visible coalition had for some time subsisted between the King of England and the Emperor, who in every instance opposed, as far as he could venture to oppose, the aspiring views of the House of Lünenburg, who persisted in his refusal to grant the investiture of the Dutchies of Bremen and Verden, but on terms with which the King of England was dissatisfied in his refusal to comply—the Emperor required, as it is said, on his part, "a refreshing fee," of an enormous amount; and his Britannic Majesty, being anxiously desirous, in contrariety to the principles and constitutions of the Empire, and the personal

declarations of the Emperor, to include the Imperial city of Bremen in the new investiture. Unfortunately also, an Imperial East-India Company had been recently established at Ostend, which was viewed, both by England and Holland, with the malignant eyes of commercial jealousy. A vote, and, in the sequel, an Act, passed in the British Parliament, declaring it to be an high crime and misdemeanor for any subject of Great Britain in any manner to engage in or countenance this undertaking; and repeated remonstrances, much more urgent than reasonable, were made by the English ministry, to induce the Emperor to abandon this enterprize.

During this state of things in Europe died Philip Duke of Orleans, Regent of France, the firm and faithful ally of the King of England\*. This Prince was possessed of shining talents, which were nevertheless greatly clouded and obscured by an extravagant propensity to pleasure, which he indulged without reserve or decorum. From the love of fame incident to an elevated mind, he was anxious that his conduct should appear in a favorable light to posterity, and had formed a serious resolution of convoking the Estates-General of the kingdom, for the purpose of effecting a grand reformation in the State, from which he was with difficulty diverted by his confidential minister and

\* December 2, 1722,

favorite the Cardinal Dubois \*. The Regent frequently expressed his indignation at the wretched state of political degradation to which France was reduced; declaring that, had he been a private citizen, he would have defended the civil liberty against the oppression of the Government. But his voluptuous life and the profligacy of his morals were totally incompatible with the maintenance of public virtue or public spirit and sound counsels. Under the administration of the Duke of Bourbon his successor, the same good standing seemed to subsist between the Crown of Great Britain and France; and both Courts viewed with equal astonishment and apprehension the sudden termination of the long and deeply-animosity of the Emperor and the King of Prussia by a treaty concluded at Vienna, April 1763, in conformity to which, Spain became guarantor of the Austrian succession, according to the PRAGMATIC SANCTION †. Such was the appa-

\* On this man, the abandoned high-priest and commander of the nocturnal orgies of the Regent, the following epigram was written:

ROME rougit d'avoir rougi  
Le maquereau qui git ici.

† The term, "pragmatic," universally applied to the Prussian edict, is used in a sense so uncommon, that it is pardonable, *en passant*, to remark its derivation from the *πραγματικος*, carrying with it the complex meaning of practical and weighty sanction.

Walpole, brother to the Minister, and much employed, and confided in, by him in all foreign transactions, and who had been the chief negotiator of this treaty, undertook to obviate all objections to it in a studied and elaborate harangue, in which he explained to the House at great length the different situations and interests of the principal States of Europe, from the peace of Utrecht to the present time. This Minister assured the House, " that the constant care and endeavour of his Majesty, since his happy accession to the throne, had been to secure the tranquillity of Christendom, to promote the honor and interest of his kingdoms, and settle the balance of power in Europe on a solid foundation. With these great and laudable views, he said, his Majesty had assumed the character both of mediator, and guarantee, of the Barrier Treaty concluded in 1715, and of the convention by which it was subsequently confirmed between the Emperor and the States. Actuated by the same motives, he had in 1716 signed a defensive alliance with the Emperor, and in 1717 another with the Most Christian King and the States-General. In order to fortify these treaties, and more effectually to secure the repose of Europe, the King had in 1718 made a convention with his Most Christian Majesty, for proposing ultimate conditions of peace between the Emperor and Spain ; and also between his Imperial Majesty and the

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the then King of Sicily. That this treaty was followed, after a very short interval, by a treaty of alliance between the Emperor, the King of Great Britain, his Most Christian Majesty, and the Republic of Holland; whence this treaty derived its popular appellation of the *Quadruple Alliance*. That within a few months the King of Sicily was admitted as a party to this treaty; and at length the King of Spain himself was compelled to accede to the terms of it, which was mainly owing to the generous assistance his Britannic Majesty gave to the Emperor in the Mediterranean; that the remaining points in dispute between their Imperial and Catholic Majesties were referred to the decision of a Congress opened at Cambray. After an unsuccessful negotiation of three years the Congress was suddenly dissolved, upon advice that the Emperor and King of Spain had adjusted their differences, by a separate treaty concluded at Vienna. That this unexpected event had occasioned no little surmise and alarm; and had raised jealousies which a more perfect knowledge of this transaction had fully justified. That this treaty of peace was followed by a treaty of commerce, the principal object of which was the establishment of an India Company at Ostend, in violation of our rights, and to the ruin of our trade. That the remonstrances made by his Majesty's Ministers at the Courts of Vienna and Madrid had been received  
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by the Ministers of his Catholic Majesty with coldness, and by those of his Imperial Majesty with the utmost haughtiness; insomuch that they scrupled not to insinuate, that if his Britannic Majesty persisted in adopting resolutions hostile to the treaty of Vienna, his Imperial Majesty would think himself disengaged from the guarantee of the Protestant succession to the Crown of Great Britain. And they had even gone so far as to affirm, that such measures might be attended with disagreeable consequences in relation to his Majesty's dominions in Germany. Such however was the firmness of his Majesty, that no impression could be made on him by these menaces; nor was he by any suggestions to be deterred from concerting with other Powers the means of counteracting the ambitious views of this formidable alliance. And this was the more necessary, because there were just grounds to believe that this extraordinary and unexpected reconciliation was owing to the fixed and favorite purpose of the House of Austria, of rendering the Imperial dignity hereditary in their family. In order to that, it might be *supposed* that the treaty of Vienna was to be cemented by a marriage between the Emperor's eldest daughter and the Infant Don Carlos. Who did not foresee the fatal consequences of this conjunction? The issue of such a marriage might in time inherit, not only the Imperial Crown, and  
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the vast hereditary dominions of the Austrian family, but the entire monarchy of Spain with its appendages, which would entirely overthrow the balance of power, and render the liberties of Europe wholly precarious. If this was not in the contemplation of these two monarchs, would any one undertake to account for the exercise of the five privileges bestowed by the King of Spain in contravention of his most solemn treaties with Great Britain, upon the Emperor's subjects in the Netherlands; or for the Emperor's so far forgetting his obligations to England and Holland as to persist in supporting the Ostend Company established with no other view than to distress the maritime powers? or for his engaging to the King of Spain in the recovery of Minorca and Gibraltar? In order to put a timely stop to the progress of such alarming and dangerous designs, his Majesty had, *in his great wisdom*, entered into a defensive alliance with his Most Christian Majesty and the King of Prussia, to which several other Powers, and particularly the States-General, were invited to accede: That the grand design of this alliance was to maintain the tranquillity of Christendom and the balance of power, and to preserve the respective rights and immunities of all nations, particularly those relating to commerce: And that his Majesty, ever attentive to the support and protection of the Protestant interest, had engaged

a separate article of this treaty, the Most Christian King and the King of Prussia, who together with his Majesty were guarantees of the treaty of Oliva, concluded between the Crowns of Poland and Sweden, A. D. 1660, to interpose in behalf of our distressed Protestant brethren in Poland; and to cause reparation to be made for what may have been done at Thorne, contrary to the stipulations of that treaty. And he concluded, with passing very lavish encomiums on the wisdom, vigilance, steadiness, and resolution of his Majesty, in the conduct of all these weighty and important affairs."

The House, no doubt completely enlightened and convinced by the perspicuity of this statement and the force of these reasonings, and admiring the beautiful harmony with which these complicated, multifarious, and seemingly dissonant treaties, alliances, and conventions, concurred in promoting the interest of Great Britain, with a single eye to which they were so demonstrably concluded, voted by a prodigious majority, *viz.* 285 against 107, an address to the King, declaratory of the highest approbation of the treaty of Hanover; and expressive of the unfeigned gratitude of the House, for the measures so wisely concerted by his Majesty, for obviating and disappointing the dangerous views of the Emperor and the King of Spain; and reprobating the treaty of commerce concluded between those Powers, as "calculated for the entire destruction



of the British trade; and assuring his Majesty, that, in vindication of the honor of the British Crown, the House will effectually stand by and support his Majesty against all insults and attacks that any power, in resentment of the measures so wisely taken, shall make upon any of his Majesty's territories, though not belonging to the Crown of Great Britain." This unexpected revolution in the general politics of Europe was chiefly effected through the instrumentality of the famous M. de Ripperda, a native of Holland; who, from the condition of a private gentleman, was advanced, after the fall of Alberoni, to the rank of a Grandee of Spain, and succeeded to the post of Prime Minister. He was inspired by a kindred genius, and prosecuted the same projects of aggrandizement, by different means. Finding the power of England the grand and perpetual obstacle to the accomplishment of his designs, he frequently indulged himself in very indiscreet and passionate expressions of resentment, and openly affirmed that the interests of Europe required the restoration of the House of Stuart. After the conclusion of the treaty of Hanover, he haughtily exclaimed, "Well, well, we shall teach these petty gentlemen (meaning the Electors of Hanover and Brandenburg) to make treaties!" And he was frequently accustomed to say, that Cardinal Alberoni made a false step, in sending that fleet to Sicily, which  
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he ought to have sent to England. In a memorial addressed by Colonel Stanhope \*, the British Minister at Madrid, to the Spanish Secretary of State, the Marquis de la Paz, at a subsequent period, heavy complaints are made of the insolent discourses of the Duc de Ripperda, during his embassy at Vienna: " There can be no stronger proof (said the English Minister) of their Catholic Majesties approbation of M. de Ripperda's behaviour, than the great honors to which they promoted him, and the entire trust they conferred upon him, at his return to Madrid. And as what he had given out at Vienna, relative to Gibraltar, was verified by the peremptory demand of that fortress; so from that time measures were taken, to make good what he had likewise said there, that the King should be driven out of his dominions, and the Pretender placed upon the throne of Great Britain. It is freely left to the judgement of every impartial person, that he who declared there was a secret offensive alliance, was actually Prime Minister to his Catholic Majesty, who honored him with his entire confidence—that it was he who had himself made the treaties of Vienna—that he never denied making such declaration, when it was publicly talked of; and that he was never

\* Afterwards created Earl of Harrington; and who, on his return from this embassy, succeeded Lord Townshend in the post of Secretary of State.

disowned in it by the King his master, who continued him a long time after in his service; nor was it ever alleged as one of the causes of his disgrace." The Spanish Minister, in reply, declares, "that the King of Spain does not consider himself as responsible for the vain and idle discourses of the Duc de Ripperda, whose extravagancies had at length induced his Catholic Majesty not only to divest him of his offices, but to secure the person of a Minister as culpable as dangerous. But he acknowledged, that the Duc de Ripperda was justified in declaring, that the good correspondence and friendship of England and Spain depended on the speedy restitution of Gibraltar, agreeably to the positive engagements of the King of England." This extraordinary man, after his disgrace, escaped from the Tower of Segovia, where he was closely confined, and sought for refuge in England, where he resided three years in great pomp and splendor. But not finding his wild schemes and projects of revenge likely to be adopted by the British Court, he took a sudden resolution to offer his services to Muley Abdalla, Emperor of Morocco, by whom they were received with eagerness; and embracing the Mahomedan faith, he was created a Bassa and Prime Minister and Vizier of the Empire. After experiencing divers vicissitudes of fortune he expired at Tetuan, October 1737, professing himself a true and sincere penitent; and being

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received as such into the bosom of the holy Catholic Church, in the communion of which he was originally educated; though early in life he had abjured the errors of Popery, and embraced the Protestant faith, which he afterwards renounced on entering into the service of Spain; on receiving absolution from a Monk of Mequinez, he became, although previously agonized with remorse, calm and serene, and at last died with cheerfulness and hope.—Such is the fascination of the Roman Catholic religion.

The political connection between Russia and Sweden, so recently formed, was already much weakened by the unexpected death of the Czar, Peter the Great, January 1725; and the harmony between England and Sweden was, in consequence of that event, after an interval of busy intrigue and negotiation, completely restored. This Monarch must ever be regarded as the most extraordinary phenomenon of the age in which he lived. Previous to his accession to the throne of his ancestors, Russia was scarcely known as an European power, except by her occasional wars with Poland, and by the commercial intercourse which she maintained with England, through the medium of the remote port of Archangel, situated at the extremity of the Frozen Ocean. PETER, who, by a rare conjunction of qualities, joined a most daring and ardent spirit of enterprize to a  
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clear and solid judgment, early entertained vast design of civilizing his immense dominions, burning with ambition to occupy a conspicuous and leading station amongst the powers of Europe. With what success he prosecuted and accomplished this grand project, it is foreign to the purport of the present history to relate. After surmounting by the incessant labor of thirty years, difficulties insuperable to any other man, he lived to see himself in possession of all which had engaged his views and his hopes—applauded as a hero, venerated as a legislator. By his conquests he had subjected numerous rich and populous provinces to his dominion, and in the midst of them he had built a magnificent city bearing the name of its founder, and which will attest to future and successive ages the grandeur and sublimity of his genius. He introduced discipline into his armies; he created a powerful navy; and in the room of Asiatic ignorance, prejudice, and barbarism, he substituted the sciences, the learning, the customs and manners of Europe. His system of improvement and aggrandizement has been eagerly and invariably pursued by his successors in the empire, and with a degree of success which may reasonably excite uneasiness, jealousy and apprehension: For to the rapid and unexampled increase of the power of Russia, no other European State bears a just or relative proportion. The King of England, alarmed

great naval equipments of the Empress Catherine, upon whom the Imperial crown of the late Czar her husband had by his will devolved, professed, with great ostentation of generosity, to feel an extreme apprehension, lest Sweden should be eventually endangered by them. And though Sweden, clearly perceiving that Sleswic was the real object of his solicitude, openly declared herself in perfect amity with Russia; a strong squadron under Sir Charles Wager sailed, by order of the King of England, to the Baltic, early in the year 1725, with express directions not to suffer the Russian fleets to leave their ports, till the Empress had obviated all ground of suspicion, by an explicit declaration of her pacific intentions. The Empress, though highly offended at this imperious requisition, protested, "that nothing was farther from her thoughts, than any design to disturb the peace of the North—expressing at the same time her astonishment, that she had not received his Majesty's letter until his fleet was at anchor before Revel; a procedure totally inconsistent with the amity so long maintained between her kingdoms and the Crown of Great Britain." That Russia, at least after the death of the Czar, was willing and desirous to maintain amity with Great Britain, and even with Hanover, as connected with Britain, appears from the tenor of the negotiations carried on in the summer of 1725; when

when the Czarina declared her readiness to concede in all other points, provided Sleswic were restored to the Duke of Holstein, or an equivalent found for it. To this idea of an equivalent, the King of England professed not to object; but after much laborious discussion of this knotty point, no equivalent could be devised; though, had not Hanover been at this period the darling care of England, Bremen and Verden would probably have been deemed a very fit and commodious one. Notwithstanding the declaration of the Empress, Sir Charles Wager, who had been joined at Copenhagen by a Danish squadron, continued in his station, till the season was too far advanced to admit of any farther naval operations. Thus provoked, the Czarina acceded in form to the Treaty of Vienna (August 1726). And the Government of Sweden, perceiving Russia unable to cope with the naval power of England, and feeling sensibly the operative influence of the *golden showers* which now diffused themselves in rich profusion over that barren land, acceded, March 1727, to the Treaty of Hanover\*. Two  
other

\* In consequence of the unlimited votes of credit passed by the Commons in 1726 and 1727, it appears that the sum of £ 435,000 was expended during those two years in *secret services*, necessary, to adopt the language of Parliament, "to fulfil and perfect his Majesty's engagements for securing the

other powerful squadrons were also at this period fitted out at an immense expence, though, as far

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peace of Europe." In the month of June 1726, when the British fleet was actually in the Baltic, Mr. Poyntz, Ambassador at the Court of Stockholm, presented a MEMORIAL to that Court, declaring, " That his Britannic Majesty, always attentive to preserve the peace of the North, had no sooner concluded the Treaty of Hanover but he had communicated it to Sweden, and desired its accession thereto—that it was with great concern he saw this negotiation lengthened out to above six months, and that in the mean time Sweden had entered into engagements with other Powers (alluding to the accession of the Emperor, April 1726, to the Treaty of Stockholm, of Feb. 1724) ; notwithstanding which, his Majesty, fearing these delays should endanger Sweden, to shew his exactness in fulfilling his engagements and his attention to the succor of Sweden, was willing to put that Crown in possession of the good fruits of its accession, even before it had acceded, by sending a powerful squadron into the Baltic *without any requisition thereof*—that the British Admiral had been presented to his Swedish Majesty to assure him, that if he thought himself in any immediate danger from the armament of his neighbours, he was in that case to concert measures with his Majesty for the defence of Sweden ; but that while the said Admiral continued at Stockholm, his Swedish Majesty had graciously answered in writing, THAT HAVING A DEFENSIVE ALLIANCE WITH RUSSIA, HE THOUGHT HIMSELF IN NO DANGER FROM THENCE.—If after the departure of the English fleet, any misfortune should happen to Sweden for want of timely precautions, it is hoped such misfortune will not be imputed to his Britannic Majesty. And the Ambassador concludes with saying, that his Majesty cannot imagine that the fear of danger ought not to be a sufficient inducement to guard against those dangers ; nor that the loose and uncertain hopes of future

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as appears, without any determinate object; and indicating only the jealous fears and restless surmises of the King of England. One of these, under the command of Sir John Jennings, with a body of land-forces on board, cruized for a considerable time off the coasts of Spain, to the great consternation of the inhabitants, but attempted no act of hostility. Another fleet under Rear-Admiral Hosier sailed for the West-Indies, with orders to block up the galleons in the Spanish harbors; or to capture them, in case they should presume to venture out. But his instructions authorizing no farther or more direct act of hostility, and the Spaniards having reconveyed, on the first intelligence of this armament, their treasures from Porto Bello to Panama, this gallant officer was compelled to remain inactive in his station till the greater part of his men, and at length the Admiral himself, perished deplorably by the diseases of that

advantages from Russia can afford a reasonable motive to reject the friendship of those Powers which have ever been the support of Sweden; nor that those imaginary and insidious promises can be balanced against a clear and net subsidy of 100,000 ducats per month, to commence from your Majesty's accession to the Treaty of Hanover, and with a prospect of more considerable assistance in case of need." Surely the gravest counsellor in the senate of Sweden must have found it difficult to read this Memorial with a serious countenance; for who ever heard, before, of an armament sent out of pure good-will to rescue a nation from the danger of its own alliances?

destructive climate. The ships also were said to be ruined by the worms; and loud and general complaints were made in England, of the improvident and wanton waste of lives and money, in this unaccountable and disastrous expedition.

During the session of the preceding year, 1725, the Earl of Macclesfield, Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, was impeached by the House of Commons, of high crimes and misdemeanors, upon the ground of his having made unusual and exorbitant profits from the sale of places—as also from the abuse of his trust, as general guardian of the persons and estates of orphans and lunatics; and, after a trial of twenty days, he was convicted by the Peers, and sentenced to pay a fine of £ 30,000, and to imprisonment in the Tower till the same was paid.—A memorable example of the upright and impartial administration of criminal justice in Great Britain. He was succeeded in the Chancellorship by Sir Peter King, created Baron King of Ockham in Surry, who had acquired great and deserved reputation in his former station of Lord Chief Justice of England. But to this new and more elevated employment his talents were not deemed equally adapted: And on his resignation the Great Seal was consigned to Lord Talbot, a nobleman of the highest mental accomplishments, of profound professional knowledge, and whose private life was the mirror of every virtue. His death,

death, which most unhappily took place soon after his advancement, in the vigor of his age, was honored with the deepest expressions of national veneration and sorrow. He was succeeded by Sir Philip Yorke, Lord Chief Justice of England, created Baron Hardwick, who presided in the Court of Chancery with high reputation no less than nineteen years.

At this period the King revived the antient order of Knights of the Bath—an institution which affords a cheap and honorable recompense to men who have merited of the public, so long as such distinctions retain in the public estimation their present artificial and ideal value\*.

The Parliament of Great Britain being convened January 1727, the King informed the two Houses “that the alliance offensive and defensive concluded between Spain and the Emperor had laid the foundation of a most exorbitant and formidable power—a power levelled against the dearest interests and privileges of the English nation, which must either surrender Gibraltar to Spain, and acquiesce in the Emperor’s usurped exercise of commerce, or resolve vigorously to defend their undoubted rights. He assured them that it was a secret article of this alliance to place the Pretender upon the throne of

\* To attempt with philosophical severity to expose the frivolousness of these distinctions, were “to reason too curiously.”

“These little things are great to little Man.”

Great Britain ; and that Russia was actuated by the same views, which she had however been prevented from taking any steps to accomplish by the recent operations of the British fleet in the Baltic. Two other squadrons, he said, had been also equipped, the advantage and glory accruing to the nation from which, sufficiently spoke their praise.—And he concluded with informing them, that the King of Spain had actually ordered his Ambassador to quit the kingdom, leaving a memorial containing a formal demand for the restitution of Gibraltar.” The Commons, in reply to his Majesty’s speech, voted a most loyal and zealous address, expressing “ their determination to stand by and support his Majesty with their lives and fortunes against all his enemies ; and engaging not only cheerfully and effectually to raise the supplies necessary for the present exigency, but to enable his Majesty to make good his engagements with his allies, in order to preserve the balance of power in Europe and the undoubted rights of the Crown of Great Britain.” In vain was it urged by the patriots in opposition, “ that it was sufficient on this occasion to return thanks to his Majesty for his most gracious speech, and appoint a day for taking it into consideration, without precipitately pledging themselves to support measures, the rectitude and wisdom of which they had as yet been furnished with no means to ascertain ; that the address implied an approbation of measures taken to prevent dangers. But  
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could this be done with propriety without knowing of what nature those measures were, or whether the dangers alleged were imaginary or real? On this occasion they said the advice of the House might be quite as necessary as it's support; that the question of peace and war was the most momentous which could fall under the cognizance of that assembly; that it was incumbent upon them not rashly to decide, but maturely to deliberate; and for this purpose it was necessary that those papers which could alone elucidate and establish the facts stated in his Majesty's speech, should be laid before them." Sir William Wyndham remarked, that of late years our counsels had been in a state of perpetual fluctuation; that, Penelope-like, we were continually weaving and unravelling the same web—now raising, now depressing the power of the House of Austria, and engaging in successive quarrels with every power of the continent, under the pretence of preserving the balance of Europe." It was asked by Mr. Hungerford, by what fleets the Pretender was to be convoyed to England; and whether he proposed to embark on the floating island of Gulliver—a scheme which seemed not less chimerical than the other circumstances of this romantic tale. He hoped that matters were not yet carried to such desperate lengths but that means of accommodation might be found without engaging the nation in a war, which could only prove an aggravation of misfortunes." Sir Thomas Hanmer declared,

declared, that if the dangers which this nation was now said to be threatened with, were so real and so imminent as some pretended, he would be one of the foremost in recommending speedy and vigorous resolutions. But he acknowledged his incredulity; these dangers appeared to him mere phantoms, distant and almost indiscernible. And as to the Pretender, though his name might be converted to a political use by foreign princes, in order to frighten and alarm us; his interest was never so low, nor his party so despicable, as at present; and all mention of him in this day's debate ought to be left entirely out of the question. He confessed himself extremely apprehensive that the acquisition of certain foreign dominions had sown the seeds which had now produced these divisions and disturbances, which menaced Europe with a general war; and that we had involved ourselves in our present difficulties by COMPLIANCES, unaccountable on any possible ground connected with the national interests; or which could be dictated by any other motive than the security of those acquisitions." These reasonings, however, were too weak to have the least influence on the decision of the House; and the address was carried on the division by a majority of 251 against 81 voices. The demand of the King of Spain, mentioned in the speech from the throne, and alluded to by Sir Thomas Hanmer, was founded upon what his Catholic Majesty affected to consider as a positive engage-

engagement of the King of England himself; who, in order to facilitate the accomplishment of the purposes which were at that time the object of negotiation at the Court of Madrid, had, in a letter written in his own hand to the King of Spain, flattered that monarch with the idea of this restitution; which was afterwards, in consequence of the indignation excited by the mere suggestion of this project to the House of Commons, laid aside as wholly impracticable; not however without leaving an apparent stain, or at least casting a certain shade, upon the honor of the King \*. Such  
was

\* Of this celebrated letter from the King of England to the King of Spain, the following is a translated copy from the French original:—

“ SIR, MY BROTHER,

“ I HAVE learned with great satisfaction from the report of my Ambassador at your Court, that your Majesty is at last resolved to remove the obstacles that have for some time delayed the entire accomplishment of our union. Since, from the confidence which your Majesty expresses towards me, I may look upon the treaties which have been in question between us as re-established, and that accordingly the instruments necessary for carrying on the trade of my subjects will be delivered out; I do no longer hesitate to assure your Majesty of my readiness to satisfy you with regard to your demand touching the restoration of Gibraltar, promising you to make use of the first favorable opportunity to regulate this article with the consent of my Parliament. And to give your Majesty a farther proof of my affection, I have ordered my Ambassador, as soon

was the umbrage given by the King's speech to the Court of Vienna, that M. de Palm, the Imperial Resident at London, was ordered by the Emperor

as the negotiation with which he has been charged shall be finished, to propose to your Majesty *new engagements to be entered into in concert and jointly with France*, suitable to the present conjuncture, not only for strengthening our union, but also for securing the tranquillity of Europe. Your Majesty may be persuaded that I on my part will shew all facility imaginable, promising myself that you will do the same for the mutual benefit of our kingdoms—being most perfectly,

“ Sir, my Brother,

“ Your Majesty's good Brother,

June 1, 1721.

“ G E O R G E, R.

“ *To the King of Spain, Monsieur my Brother.*”

But this, though the chief, was not the sole ground upon which the King of Spain rested his claim of restitution. Towards the conclusion of Lord Stair's embassy at Paris, Lord Stanhope went over to France charged with a secret commission. And the Cardinal Dubois, after his departure, informed the Ambassador, “ that Lord Stanhope had given a verbal promise to the Regent, or at least what the Regent understood as such, for the restoration of Gibraltar—that the Regent thus authorized, had positively and formally assured the King of Spain that Gibraltar should be restored; and that the honor of his Highness as well as that of the King was now engaged for its accomplishment, and that a failure in this point might be attended with disastrous consequences.”—That Lord Stanhope should be empowered to offer an absolute cession of Gibraltar is, however, not credible; as the King of England himself acknowledges in his letter to the King of Spain, the  
consent



peror to present a remonstrance to the British Court, framed in terms unusually bold and pointed, charging the King with "calumnious misrepresentations, and with hazarding assertions void of all foundation. He affirmed that there was no *offensive* alliance subsisting between the Imperial and Spanish Crowns; that the article relating to the Pretender was an ABSOLUTE NULLITY, and that the restitution of Gibraltar, however just the claim of the King of Spain, was foreign to the purpose of the treaty." The two Houses expressed, in a formal address to the throne, their indignation at the insolence of this memorial, which they style an extravagant insult upon his Majesty, and a presumptuous and vain attempt to instil into the minds of his faithful subjects a distrust of his royal word." As no positive evidence has however yet been adduced to confirm the assertions of the King of England, it is probable that the intelligence received respecting this political mystery did not merit that implicit credit which, predisposed by

consent of Parliament to be necessary; and the prejudices of the kingdom with regard to Gibraltar were far too great and obvious to admit the supposition that this consent could be at any time believed easily attainable. It is probable, therefore, that the offer was made by the English Court chiefly to amuse, though the King and his Ministers were certainly not averse to the surrender of this invidious conquest.—*Vide Hardwicke State Papers.*

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the credulity of habitual apprehension and suspicion, the Court of London appears to have given to it—although Lord Townshend hesitated not to declare in the House of Lords, “that if the safety of the state permitted to lay the advices in possession of Government before the House, their Lordships would no more question the certainty of such an article than if they had been present at the signing of it.” On the other hand, Count Palm in his memorial declares, “that his Imperial Majesty was struck with the utmost astonishment that the King of Great Britain could suffer himself to be prevailed upon to declare from the royal throne to that most renowned nation, as certain and undoubted facts, things absolutely void of all foundation.—And the Ambassador declares that his Imperial Majesty has expressly authorized and commanded him most solemnly to affirm in his name, and upon his Imperial word, that there exists no secret article or convention whatsoever which contains or can tend to prove the least tittle of what has been alleged.” And in another part of this famous memorial he protests “that there exists not even a pretence to say that this treaty can be grievous or hurtful to a nation for which his Imperial Majesty has the greatest affection and esteem, and whose glorious exploits and important succors no time will efface out of his memory.” The Emperor was believed to be envious of the power  
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and grandeur of the House of Lunenburg since its accession to the throne of Great Britain, to a degree which the zealous and uniform attachment of the Princes of that House to the interests of the Imperial family could never soften. But that he should seriously listen to any proposals from the Court of Madrid in favor of the House of Stuart, from whose gratitude he had little to expect, and from whose deeply-rooted animosity and revenge he might eventually have every thing to fear, carries with it the face of great improbability. Highly resenting nevertheless the conduct of the King of England, and considering himself as abandoned by the treaty of Hanover, he had in the course of the preceding year (April 1726) acceded to the secret article of the treaty of Stockholm; from which arose the exorbitant power of the House of Austria, and the danger to which the balance of power and the liberties of Europe were exposed, had become the fashionable theme of declamation in the Court and Parliament of Great Britain.

With the memorial also was transmitted from Vienna a letter from the Chancellor Count Zinzendorf to Count Palm, expressly commanding him, in the name of his Imperial Majesty, after presenting the memorial to the King of Great Britain, to publish it, together with the letter annexed, for the information of the British nation. The Chancellor Zinzendorf affirms in this letter,

“ that it is easy to see that the speech was made for no other purpose but to excite the nation to a rupture and open war with the Emperor and Spain; and to make the Parliament approve the precipitate and burdensome measures *which the Government has taken for private ends too well known.*—That on the first report of these false suppositions, the Emperor and the King of Spain, in order to silence them, proposed a formal act *de non offendendo*, into which all the contracting parties of the treaties of Vienna and Hanover might enter, till such time as a definitive agreement might have taken place; but that this proposition was rejected. He says, that the articles of the Quadruple Alliance are expressly and publicly laid down as the unalterable basis of the treaty of Vienna, and that to affirm that by a secret pact concluded at the same time, engagements have been entered into by their Imperial and Catholic Majesties, repugnant to the same, is an outrageous insult to the majesty of the two contracting powers, who have a right to demand a reparation proportioned to the enormity of the affront. And that the high contracting parties had no other view than that of making peace between themselves, without injuring any one else.” The allegations contained in this letter and memorial seem but too well founded; but the intemperate language of these papers gave high and just offence: And Mr. Shippen, Mr. Hunger-

Hungerford, Sir William Wyndham, and all the leaders of opposition in Parliament, warmly concurred in the address presented to the throne *on this occasion*; and which passed the House without a dissentient vote. And an order was sent to M. de Palm, signifying “ that the said Palm having delivered into the hands of his Majesty, at his late audience, a memorial highly injurious to the honor and dignity of his Crown, and having also publicly dispersed the same with a letter from the Count de Zinzendorf to him the said Palm, still more insolent than the memorial, his Majesty looked upon him no longer as a public minister, and required him forthwith to depart out of this kingdom.” Vigorous preparations were now made on both sides for war; and before the end of the session, the King informed the Parliament that the fortress of Gibraltar was actually besieged. The forces of Great Britain were augmented by sea and land. Thirty thousand Swedes, Danes, and Hessians, were taken into British pay. And amongst other more usual ways and means of providing the supplies called for on this occasion, the King was empowered, by a clause of appropriation in one of the revenue bills of the year, “ to apply such sums as should be necessary for making good the expences and engagements which had been or should be made before the 25th of September next, for the purposes of establishing

the security of commerce and restoring the tranquillity of Europe." And it was in vain urged, "that this mode of asking and granting supplies, was in the highest degree unparliamentary—that such an unlimited power ought never to be given under a free government—that such confidence in the Crown might be attended, through the influence of evil ministers, with the most dangerous consequences—that no provision was made for the responsibility of those entrusted with the disposal of this money—that the constitution could no otherwise be preserved, than by a strict adherence to the essential parliamentary forms of granting supplies upon estimates, and of appropriating those supplies to services and occasions publicly avowed, and judged necessary—and that such an unwarrantable delegation of authority transfers that discretion to the Crown which can with safety be vested in the legislature alone." The sum of £ 370,000, issued in Exchequer Bills, was also charged on the surplus produce of certain duties appertaining to the sinking fund, towards the expences of the war, notwithstanding the vigorous opposition of Sir Joseph Jekyl and Mr. Pulteney, who demonstrated how essentially the efficacy of the fund would, by such a practice, be impaired. The latter of these gentlemen, in particular, affirmed, "That by charging new loans upon old and appropriated surplusses, the public were grossly

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deceived ;

deceived; that by these expedients to put off the evil day, taxes would be perpetuated; and that notwithstanding the great merit assumed by the inventors of this boasted scheme of redemption, the national debt had really increased since the setting up of that pompous project." This insidious alienation of a fund, hitherto regarded as sacred, was the more remarkable, as the House of Commons, in reply to the speech from the throne, expressly recommending to their attention the state of the Sinking Fund, had said—"And that all who wish well to the peace and quiet of your Majesty's government, may have the satisfaction to see that our present necessities shall make no interruption in the progress of that desirable work, of gradually reducing the national debt; we will consider of the most proper method for immediately applying the produce of the Sinking Fund to the uses for which it was so wisely contrived, and to which it stands now appropriated." The Court, having now carried all its measures by great and decisive majorities, the Parliament was prorogued, May 15, 1727.

Sir John Norris, at this time sailing with a powerful fleet to the Baltic, was joined by a Danish squadron. But the Czarina dying at this critical juncture, and the politics of the Court of Petersburg sustaining another unexpected change, the armament became happily useless. Meantime,

through the active and seasonable intervention of the Court of Versailles—reluctant to carry matters to farther extremity against the Emperor, while supported by Spain, whose friendship she was solicitous to recover,—preliminary articles of accommodation were signed, May 1727, by the ministers of all the belligerent powers; who, though much exasperated against each other, were actuated by no motives of sufficient weight to induce them to involve anew all Europe in the horrors of a general war. These articles imported, that hostilities should immediately cease; that the charter of the Ostend Company should be suspended for seven years; and that a congress should be opened in four months at Aix-la-Chapelle, afterwards transferred to Soissons, to settle the terms of a final pacification\*.

The King of England seemed at length to have surmounted all his political difficulties; and if we cannot always applaud the justice or the wisdom of his counsels, it must at least be acknowledged, that they were enforced with an extraordinary

\* So seriously nevertheless did France enter into the views of England, or rather of Hanover, at this crisis, for the abatement of the House of Austria, that she had actually engaged for the payment of an annual subsidy to Denmark of 350,000 rix-dollars, for four years; and likewise of 50,000 ducats monthly to Sweden, to commence from the period of her accession to the Treaty of Hanover.



degree of vigor and success. A fair prospect of peace and tranquillity now seemed to open; and the King embraced with his usual eagerness this favorable opportunity of revisiting his electoral dominions, to which he ever retained a fond and partial attachment, and by which he was in a degree not inferior revered and beloved. Embarking at Greenwich, June 3, 1727, he landed in Holland on the 7th, and immediately set out on his journey to Hanover. On the road, between Delden and Osnaburg, he was seized with a kind of lethargic paralysis; and feeling himself attacked by the stroke of death, he said to the nobleman who accompanied him in the carriage, "*C'est fait de moi.*" He appeared, however, extremely anxious to reach the capital of his dominions; but on his arrival at the palace of his brother, the Bishop of Osnaburg, it was found impossible to proceed; and on Sunday 11th June 1727 he expired, in the 58th year of his age, and 13th of his reign—leaving issue by his consort Sophia Dorothea, heiress of the House of Zell, George, successor to the Crown, and a daughter, married previous to the accession of the Brunswic family to the royal dignity, to Frederic William, King of Prussia. If this Prince was not distinguished for shining talents or heroic virtues, much less can we discern, on a general review of his character, any remarkable deficiency of understanding or propensity to

vice. According to the Crown of Great Britain when far advanced in life, he seemed ever to consider himself rather as Elector than as King: And the influence and power of Great Britain were of little estimation in his eyes, when directed to any other end than the aggrandizement of his native country. With respect to the internal government of his kingdoms, the rectitude and benevolence of his intentions were always apparent; but he was, from the nature of his situation, compelled to throw himself into the hands of a party, and from the easiness of his disposition he was too often persuaded to acquiesce in measures, which a more perfect acquaintance with the real state of facts and opinions would have shewn to be as contrary to his interests, as there is reason to believe they frequently were to his inclination. In the view of Europe at large, he sustained the character of a prudent, an able, and a fortunate prince. And if, in contemplating the history of this reign, we have just cause to lament the weaknesses and defects of the external system of policy by which its counsels were influenced; we have ample reason, on the other hand, to express our ardent wishes, that the noble speculative principles of government, and of liberty civil and religious, which this Monarch was not only ready, but anxious, on all occasions to avow, and by which the general tenor of his conduct was regulated,

lated, may never cease to be the distinguishing and favorite characteristics of the royal and electoral House of BRUNSWIC.

With respect to the general state of literature and the arts during this reign, it may suffice to observe, that notwithstanding the total neglect of the Court, and the violence of party rage, descriptive of this as well as of the former reign, they continued to flourish in a very high degree; and we view with surprize, amidst scenes of contention and turbulence, a constellation of geniuses, shedding a peculiar lustre over this period of British history. Scarcely had LOCKE, TEMPLE, and DRYDEN, the departing luminaries of the former age, sunk below the western sky; when ADDISON, SWIFT, POPE, SHAFTESBURY, and BOLINGBROKE, arose in the east. The writings of Addison, in particular, merit a most distinguished and honorable mention. Amidst the din of hostile and malignant factions, they exhibit an almost cloudless picture of urbanity, candor, good-sense, and beneficence. The advantage which the community has reaped from the wide and almost boundless diffusion of them, no power of calculation can ascertain. And exclusive of their moral and political merit, his exquisite delineations of life and manners will charm as long as our nation and language exist. In poetry, Pope rose far superior to all his cotemporaries; and if inferior to  
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any in that mode of versification which he chose to adopt, he is inferior to Dryden alone. In the province of architecture, Gibbs and Kent, with unequal steps and at almost viewless distance, followed the celebrated Sir Christopher Wren; of whom the magnificent plan for rebuilding the city of London in 1666—an effort of genius, which can never be contemplated without admiration and indignant regret—would have alone sufficed to perpetuate the memory. And at this period the English school of painting could produce, a Thornhill excepted, no greater artist than Jervas, whose name is indeed immortalized—not by the “warmth divine” of his own performances, but of “the verse eternal which embalms the dead.” During the course of this reign, Sir ISAAC NEWTON terminated his long career of life; but his career of fame and glory will be coëval only with that of the world itself, whose laws he has developed and explained, with an energy and sagacity wholly stupendous, and approaching, perhaps, the limits of supernatural intelligence.

## K. G E O R G E II.

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**O**N the arrival of an express from Osnaburg, with the intelligence of the death of the King, the new Monarch, assembling the Privy Council, commanded the members to be sworn anew; and declared to them his firm purpose to preserve inviolate the Constitution in Church and State, and to cultivate those alliances which his father had made with foreign Princes. All the great officers of State were continued in their places; and it was at once apparent that the political system, established by the late King, would suffer no essential alteration. The Prime Minister, Sir Robert Walpole, seemed even to possess an higher and more exclusive share of favor and confidence than before. Lord Townshend, Secretary of State for foreign affairs, a nobleman not destitute of knowledge or talents—open, generous, and sincere—was alone able for a time to preserve some degree of independent political consequence: But finding the competition too unequal, and his power  
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and influence rapidly on the wane, he retired—a statesman cured of ambition—to cultivate his paternal acres \*. The Duke of Newcastle, his colleague, was a man illustrious by his birth, affable and popular in his address, liberal in his sentiments, and magnificent in his expences. But his capacity was very inadequate to his elevated station. With intentions disinterested and upright, his zeal and attachment to the House of Hanover too frequently prompted him to inconsiderate compliances. And to oppose the measures of the Court, however contrary to the interests of the nation, argued in his estimation criminal disaffection to the King's person and government. Mr. Pelham, Secretary at War, and brother to the Duke, was esteemed for his probity, respected for his talents, and beloved for his candor. The Earl of Chesterfield, Ambassador at the Hague, and soon afterwards appointed Lord Steward, who seemed ambitious to form himself upon the model

\* A cotemporary poet of no ignoble fame, has celebrated the praises of this respectable nobleman in the following elegant lines:

“ ———TOWNSHEND, whom all the world admires,  
From all the world illustriously retires;  
And calmly wand'ring in his Raynham roves,  
By lake, or spring, by thicket, lawn, or groves;  
Where verdant hills, or vales, where fountains stray,  
Charming each thought of idle pomp away:  
Unenvied views the splendid toils of State,  
In private happy, as in public great.”

of

of Lord Bolingbroke, though he rose not to an equality with that great and unrivalled original, was at once a man of wit, of pleasure, and of business. The high polish of his manners, approaching perhaps the verge of frivolity, indicated rather the accomplished courtier, than the commanding statesman; and left an impression somewhat unfavorable to the solidity of his judgment, though his political opinions appear to have been uniformly clear and just. As a speaker, his elocution was elegant, and his style flowing and chaste; and his capacity, naturally excellent, was improved by diligent literary cultivation\*. John

\* The character of this nobleman—"Stanhope in wisdom as in wit divine"—has been thought greatly to resemble that of his maternal grandfather, the celebrated Marquis of Halifax. Amongst the "State Maxims" of the latter, is an observation, which alone might serve as a proof that he has not been applauded without reason for his sagacity: "The Prince is to take care that the greater part of the people may not be angry at the same time—for though the first beginning of their ill-humour should be against one another, it will naturally end in anger against him." And of his wit we have the following excellent specimen: "After the Revolution, in which the Marquis had borne a distinguished part, many absurd applications were made to him from persons pretending great services, for his recommendation to posts and places under the government, which they were for the most part utterly unqualified to fill. Being at last wearied with their importunities, he said "that he had frequently been told that the Roman republic had been saved by geese, but he never heard that those geese were made Consuls."

Duke

Duke of Argyle was distinguished beyond all his contemporaries, by an uncommon union of civil and military talents. He had signalized himself in the wars of Flanders under the late Duke of Marlborough, whilst yet in early youth, by a sagacity of conduct surpassing his years, and by a spirit of gallantry which rose to heroism. As Commander in Chief of the forces in North Britain, he was eminently instrumental in quelling the rebellion of 1715. And the firm and hereditary attachment of his family to the principles of liberty and whiggism, rendered the name of Argyle dear to the majority of the people of Scotland, where his influence and popularity were almost boundless. His speeches in Parliament were characterized by a vehemence and energy, which rendered him, as a political adversary, very formidable. He was not wanting in a very exalted idea of the importance of his services and the lustre of his talents. The high and lucrative offices which he held under the Crown, he seemed to regard rather as what it were injustice to withhold, than favor to confer. He was imperious, passionate, and capricious, but honest, undisguised, and magnanimous—troublesome as a friend, but dangerous as an enemy. Lord Carteret was however, unquestionably, the only man connected with this administration, of whose abilities the Premier could entertain any reasonable jealousy or apprehension.

Dignified



Dignified and even stately in his deportment, the habitual superiority he appeared to assume was sustained by an extraordinary energy of genius and extent of knowledge. Deeply versed in the labyrinths of foreign politics, he at once discerned and despised all the littlenesses of that system by which the English Court had been governed, from the period of her connection with Hanover. Aspiring in his views, resolute in his temper, and diverted by no inferior or collateral object from the pursuits of his ambition, he seemed by the potency of his alliance to menace the minister whom he deigned to honor with his support.

The entire produce of the Civil List revenues, estimated at £ 800,000, was, on the motion of Sir Robert Walpole, settled on the King for life, instead of the clear annual revenue of £ 700,000 granted to the late Monarch—not, however, without some debate and opposition. The incorrupt and inflexible Shippen observed, “ That the sum of £ 700,000 was, at the accession of his late Majesty, considered by all as an ample royal revenue; and it was to be hoped that in this reign many personal expences, particularly those incurred in the frequent journeys to Hanover, would cease. He affirmed, that the Civil List revenue in the reign of the late Queen did not in general exceed the sum of £ 550,000, and that the Parliament was called upon only once in a reign of  
thirteen

thirteen years, to pay the debts contracted in her civil government, and these were occasioned by the unparalleled instances of her piety and generosity—especially by her devoting £100,000 per annum to the public service during the war. But in the late reign, £500,000 had been twice voted for the discharge of the Civil List debts; and last session, he said, a sum of £125,000 was granted for purposes not yet explained, notwithstanding which there was yet a debt of £600,000 unaccounted for, and therefore he supposed contracted in a manner not fit to be owned, or swallowed up in the bottomless gulph of secret service. This amazing extravagance, he said, had happened under the conduct of persons pretending to surpass all their predecessors in the knowledge and care of the public revenue. But, instead of granting any addition to the Civil List, he should move that the duties appropriated to this purpose should be continued to his Majesty, so as to make up the clear yearly sum of £700,000.” The amendment, however, was rejected by a great majority; and in lieu of it, a resolution founded upon a royal message delivered to the House by Sir Paul Methuen, for settling the sum of £100,000 per ann. as a jointure upon the Queen, passed without difficulty.

The Parliament being dissolved in August, a new Parliament was convened in January of 1728, which

which Arthur Onslow, Esq. was chosen Speaker, and which seemed to vie, in all expressions of duty and loyalty, with the most loyal of its predecessors. The King assured them, in his speech from the throne, of the absolute necessity of continuing those preparations which had hitherto *secured the nation*, the execution of the preliminaries, actually signed, having been retarded by unexpected difficulties, raised chiefly by the obstinate opposition of the Court of Madrid, although the ratifications had been actually exchanged with the Emperor. The sum of £ 280,000 was therefore voted for the maintenance of the Hessian and Swedish auxiliaries, and a subsidy of £ 100,000 payable in four years to the Duke of Wolfenbuttle; who in return, took upon him to guarantee, by a formal treaty, to his Britannic Majesty the possession of his three kingdoms, and to *keep in readiness* for his service a corps of 5000 men during the same term. This notable alliance occasioned, however, some severe animadversions; and Sir Joseph Jekyl, Master of the Rolls, a firm and zealous Whig, but one who carried not his complaisance to the Court so far as to abandon on any occasion what he conceived to be the true interest of his country, in reply to Sir Robert Walpole, who had launched out into the highest praises of the Treaty of Hanover, affirmed, “ That whatever gloss might be put upon such measures, they were repugnant to

the maxims by which England in former times had steered, and squared its conduct with relation to its interests abroad—that the navy was the natural strength of Great Britain, its best defence and security; but if, in order to avoid a war, they should be so free-hearted as to buy and maintain the forces of foreign princes, they were never like to see an end of such extravagant expenses \*.” The House was even prevailed upon, during the suspension of its good humour, to address the King for a particular and distinct account of the sum of £ 250,000, charged in the general statement of national expenditure to have been issued “for preserving and restoring the peace of Europe.” His Majesty, nevertheless, declined to comply with their request; but informed them in general terms, that part of the money had been disbursed by his late Majesty,

\* It may deserve mention, that the Lord Chancellor King was so struck with the inexpressible absurdity of this *provisional treaty* with the Duke of Wolfenbuttle, that he absolutely refused to affix the Great Seal to it, till ratified by Parliament, and the money actually voted. “What, says an able political writer of the last reign, our histories may hereafter say of this transaction I know not; but the persons then at the head of the opposition *took the liberty* to declare upon that occasion, “that we paid for a great many forces to be in *readiness* on account of the Hanover Treaty; and last of all the GOOD WILL of his Highness the Duke of Wolfenbuttle was obtained, who engaged to guarantee ALL his Majesty’s dominions with a body of 5000 men, not to be moved out of Holland or Germany, at so small an expence as £ 25,000 per ann. for four years.”—*Case of the Hanover Forces.*

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conformably to the powers vested in him by Parliament ; and the remainder by himself, for carrying on necessary and important services, which required the greatest secrecy. And he hoped that the House would repose the same confidence in him, and be assured that the money had been necessarily expended, agreeably to the ends for which it was granted. This answer, the House, upon calmer consideration, thought fit to approve ; Sir Robert Walpole affirming it to be “ impossible that public services should be carried on, considering the great complication of interests on the Continent, if *every shilling* that was expended for the advancement of the common cause, and for maintaining the balance of Europe, was known to all the world :” Though Mr. Pulteney, now in open opposition to the Court, inveighed against this vague and loose mode of accounting for the expenditure of the public money, as tending to render Parliaments altogether insignificant ; to encourage and invite the most shameful embezzlements ; and to screen corrupt and rapacious ministers from even the possibility of detection and punishment. No impression, however, was made by these reasonings, as too plainly appeared by the discretionary vote of credit, passed at the requisition of the Court, by 237 voices against 101, previous to the close of the Session.

effectual care in the present treaty to preserve his undoubted right to Gibraltar and Minorca," passed in the affirmative. It is singular, that an address was again presented to the throne by the Commons, desiring to be informed in what manner a large sum, stated to have been expended for restoring the peace of Europe, was disposed of; to which an answer, similar to that returned to the former address, was given, in which the House had again the complaisance to acquiesce. Previous to the recess, the King declared his intention of visiting his German dominions, leaving the Queen sole regent, under whose mild and equitable administration no cause of discontent or disaffection arose. But Ireland had been for some time past convulsed with folly and faction, in consequence of a patent granted to one Wood by the late King, for coining a certain quantity of copper for the use of that kingdom; and which was confessedly much wanted, for the purposes of commercial intercourse. The coinage being found of a base and inferior quality, the famous Swift, Dean of St. Patrick, seized with eagerness the opportunity of venting his spleen and rancor against the government, by publishing a series of tracts, in which he attempted to prove, that the ruin of the kingdom must be the inevitable consequence of this abuse. Lord Carteret being now appointed to the government of Ireland, was compelled to issue,  
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in his official capacity, a proclamation offering a reward for the discovery of the author of these seditious and libellous publications : Notwithstanding which, this haughty and factious priest ventured to appear at all places of public resort as usual, and had even, in the presence-chamber of the Castle of Dublin, the boldness to expostulate with the Lord Lieutenant upon the pretended tyranny and iniquity of this proclamation, and presumed to ask, “ how it was possible that his Excellency could suffer it to be issued ? ” To which Lord Carteret, indulging the sympathies of friendship and genius, with equal elegance and magnanimity replied, *Res dura, et regni novitas, me talia cogunt moliri*. Under the administration of this nobleman peace and order were restored and established, various excellent laws were enacted for the encouragement of manufactures, commerce, and agriculture, and many salutary regulations adopted in the civil departments of government. The beneficial effects of a liberal and enlightened policy were universally felt ; and the Parliament of that kingdom, in their unanimous approval of the measures of their present Governor, paid that homage to wisdom which it had frequently been known to refuse to power.

The Congress of Soissons proving finally abortive, conferences were opened at Seville between the Ministers of France, Spain, and England,

land, to the exclusion of the Emperor, who conceived much resentment at this affront ; and a treaty was signed in the month of May 1729, of which his Imperial Majesty openly and heavily complained to the Diet assembled at Ratisbon, as contrary to the express stipulations of the Quadruple Alliance. In the course of this year Victor Amadeus, King of Sardinia, resigned his crown to his son Charles Emanuel, and, retiring to the castle of Chamberri, espoused the Countess of St. Sebastian, who refused with disdain the title, as she could not participate in the power, of royalty. In October (1729) died Peter II. Czar of Muscovy, and grandson of Peter the Great, by the unfortunate Alexiowitz. He was succeeded on the throne of Russia by the Princess Anne Iwanowna, Dutchess of Courland, second daughter of the Czar Iwan, elder brother to Peter the Great. Early in the following year died Pope Benedict XIII., and was succeeded by Cardinal Corfini, already near 80 years of age, who nevertheless filled the Papal chair ten years under the name of Clement XII.

At this eventful period also a sudden and surprising revolution, if under so despotic a government any revolution can surprize, took place at Constantinople, by the deposition of the Grand Signor Achmet III. and the elevation of his nephew Mahmout or Mahomet V. From the æra of the

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memorable victory obtained by the illustrious Sobieski under the walls of Vienna, the Ottoman power had suffered a great and rapid decline ; and Mahomet IV. who had succeeded when an infant to the throne, on the deposition of his father the Sultan Ibrahim (A. D. 1648), was himself, in consequence of the general rage excited by the misfortunes of that disastrous war, compelled to submit to the same fate. During the short and feeble reigns of his brothers Solyman II. and Achmet II., the triumphs of the Imperialists continued. The reign of the succeeding Emperor Mustapha II., son of Mahomet IV., was distinguished by the famous battle of Zenta won by Prince Eugene, and the consequent treaty of Carlowitz. After a reign of seven years, the Sultan Mustapha was, by another revolution, hurled from his throne, and his brother Achmet III. raised to the same high and dangerous pre-eminence. This Prince is well known by his hospitable and generous reception of the King of Sweden, after the defeat of that monarch at Pultowa. Being afterwards involved in a war with the Emperor Charles VI., his armies were repeatedly defeated by Prince Eugene, and the war was terminated, greatly to the disadvantage of the Turks, by a treaty concluded at Passarowitz, A. D. 1718. The avarice and oppression of his subsequent government, together with the war carried on negligently and unsuccessfully against the Persians, made

made the reign of Achmet odious to the people. Recourse being had to a very unusual and dangerous expedient in Turkey, the imposition of a new tax called the *Bedead*, a species of excise very arbitrary in the collection, in order to defray the expence of this war, three Janisaries, named Calil, Muflu, and Ali, very obscure men, fancying themselves particularly aggrieved by it, assembled, in the absence of the Grand Seignor and Grand Vizier then at Scutari, a considerable number of their comrades in the *Atmeidan*, where they presented to them a naked sword on which they had themselves sworn, and required of all who engaged with them to swear the death of the Grand Vizier, the Caimacan, and the Reis Effendi. The Aga of the Janisaries repairing in haste to the *Atmeidan*, Calil demanded if he were come to join the brave Mussulmen who were resolved on a reformation in the state, and the punishment of the tyrants? The Aga being destitute of force to suppress the revolters, retired in silence. The Sultan, attended by the Vizier, returned with precipitation on the first intelligence of this insurrection to Constantinople, where they arrived at midnight. On the next morning, by order of the Emperor, the standard of Mahomet was displayed, but without effect; and the number of revolters continually increasing, the Seraglio was on the day following formally invested. Measures being now in preparation to

force the gates of the palace, their astonishment was great to see the dead bodies of the proscribed ministers brought out on litters, preceded by an officer of the Bostangis, who announced the condescension of the Emperor, and commanded them in his name to separate. The three leaders of the revolt, fully aware of the danger of their situation, expressed their dissatisfaction at this concession, and declaring the Sultan Achmet unworthy of the throne, boldly exclaimed, that they would have Sultan Mahmoud for their sovereign. The name of Mahmoud was repeated with loud acclamations, resounding even to the inmost recesses of the Seraglio. The Sultan Achmet hastily assembling a Divan, asked, with a faltering voice, what the rebels had yet to desire; on which an Iman replied, "My Lord, thy reign is at an end---thy revolted subjects will no longer have thee for a master---They demand with shouts thy nephew Mahmoud---it is in vain for thee to flatter thyself that they will return to their allegiance." At these words the Sultan turned pale, but soon recovering himself, said, "Why was I not informed of this sooner? Follow me." Immediately he went to the prison of Mahmoud attended by all the members of the Divan, and having taken that Prince by the hand, "The wheel has turned for you as for me," said he to him, conducting him to the Divan chamber; "I resign to you the throne which Mus-

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tapha my brother resigned to me." After which he returned to the apartment from whence he had taken Mahmoud, there to end his life. Thus in the space of about eighty years no less than four Emperors had been successively dethroned at Constantinople by lawless and popular violence. A demonstration so striking of the instability and insecurity of military and despotic governments might surely suffice to reconcile the proudest despot to the establishment of a regular and permanent system of liberty\*.

The Parliament of England assembling in January 1730, the King, in his speech from the throne, declared the peace of Europe to be firmly established by the treaty of Seville, which was built, as he asserted, on the foundation of the Quadruple Alliance. He affirmed, that Spain had agreed to an ample restitution and reparation for all unlawful seizures and depredations; that the free and uninter-

\* It is said that a Grand Vizier of Turkey once inquiring of Mr. Montague, the English Ambassador at Constantinople, whether it were really true, as he had been informed, that the English nation had struck off the head of one of their kings on a public scaffold: the Ambassador answered, that it was: And the Vizier farther inquiring at what distance of time this incredible act of wickedness and rebellion had been committed, the Ambassador told the Vizier, with great coolness, that, to the best of his recollection, it was in the very same year in which the Grand Seigneur Ibrahim was deposed, and strangled by the Janissaries.

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rupted exercise of British commerce was fully secured, and that all rights, privileges, and possessions belonging to him and his allies were confirmed and solemnly guaranteed. Violent opposition was made to the terms of this treaty when submitted to the investigation of Parliament; though it must be acknowledged that some of the objections urged by the patriots, when viewed through the long vista of years which has now intervened, appear rather minute and captious. They affirmed that the article by which the British merchants were required to make proof of their losses at the Court of Madrid was injurious to them, and dishonorable to the nation; and that there was little probability of obtaining that redress by means of commissaries, which was refused to plenipotentiaries: They complained that the right of Great Britain to Gibraltar and Minorca was not acknowledged in this treaty; they disliked the guarantee of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, to Don Carlos and his successors, as a concession which might involve Great Britain in future quarrels about a country with which we had no concern. But the principal objection, and that which constituted the chief ground of the high offence taken by the Emperor, was founded upon that article of the treaty by which England not only guaranteed the succession of these Dutchies to the Infant, but engaged to convey a body of Spanish troops to Italy, in order to secure those possessions without

without waiting for the Imperial investiture ; which was not only an open and flagrant affront offered to the Imperial dignity, but likewise a palpable deviation from the letter of the Quadruple Alliance, by which neutral troops only were to be admitted, till the investitures were granted. And if any obstacles arose in carrying this article of the Convention of Seville into execution, the contracting parties, in conjunction with France, under whose mediation it was concluded, agreed by force of arms to obtain the accomplishment of it. So much incensed was the Court of Vienna at the insult, still more perhaps than the injury, offered in the treaty of Seville, that his Imperial Majesty issued an edict, prohibiting the subjects of Great Britain from trading in his dominions ; and made great military preparations and demonstrations of a determination to assert his rights by a declaration of war. In the course of this session, and while things remained in this posture, a very warm debate arose in consequence of a bill introduced by the Minister to prevent any subject of Great Britain from advancing money by way of loan to foreign Princes or States, without license first obtained from his Majesty under his privy seal. This bill was ably opposed by Sir John Bernard, one of the representatives of the city of London, a man of strict integrity and extensive commercial knowledge, as “ a measure which would render Holland the mart of money

money to the nations of the Continent: He said, that by this general prohibition the English were disabled from assisting their best allies; that the King of Portugal frequently borrowed money of the English merchants residing within his dominions; that the licensing power was liable to dangerous abuse, and that the clause which empowered the Attorney General to compel the discovery on oath of such loans, would convert the Court of Exchequer into a Court of Inquisition." In consequence of these arguments the bill was modified in such a manner as to render it much less exceptionable; and it was declared, "that the object of it was merely to prevent the subjects of the State from assisting the enemies of the State. It was well known that at this very time the Emperor was negotiating a loan in the metropolis, and it was manifestly impolitic and absurd to permit individuals to enrich themselves by any mode of traffic detrimental to the general interests of the kingdom." The Bill at length passed; and it must be acknowledged, that the principle on which it is founded appears perfectly equitable, and that no inconvenience has, in fact, been found to result from it. A Bill passed by the Commons in the course of this session "for making more effectual the laws in being for disabling persons from being chosen Members of Parliament, who enjoyed any pension during pleasure, or for any number of years,

years, or any office holden in trust for them," was rejected on the second reading by the Lords ; and on the 15th of May 1730, the King went to the House of Peers, and closed the session with a speech, in which very harsh and angry mention was made of " those *incendiaries* who, by scandalous libels, laboured to alienate the affections of his people, to fill their minds with groundless jealousies and unjust complaints, in dishonor of him and his government, and in defiance of the sense of both Houses of Parliament \*."

Early in the year 1731, the Parliament was again convened, and the session opened by a remarkable speech from the throne, indicating a very extraordinary and alarming situation of affairs. The King declared, " that in consequence of the measures formerly taken, and the conclusion of the treaty of Seville, the dangerous consequences so justly apprehended from the treaty of Vienna were entirely obviated ; and that union which had alarmed all Europe not only dissolved, but the

\* The *scandalous libels* mentioned in the King's speech were supposed chiefly to allude to the periodical papers entitled "The Craftsman," supported by the ablest political writers of the age, Lord Bolingbroke and Mr. Pulteney being themselves of the number, and in which the measures of the administration were attacked with equal animosity, wit, and argument. So transient, however, is the fame attached to controversial politics, that this publication, so admired and celebrated in its day, is already consigned to obscurity and almost to oblivion.

treaty



treaty of Hanover strengthened by the additional power of the Crown of Spain. His Majesty observed, that from this situation of affairs, just hopes were entertained that the conditions of the treaty of Seville would have been complied with without the necessity of coming to extremities; but that this desirable event had been hitherto delayed: And as the treaty imposed an obligation upon all the contracting parties to prepare for the execution of it, we must be in readiness to perform our part, in order to procure the satisfaction due to our allies. The resolutions of Parliament were expected by foreign Powers with impatience, and the great event of peace or war would be very much affected by their first decisions. He said, that *the plan of operations for the execution of the treaty of Seville by FORCE was now under consideration*; that their just concern for the true interest of their country would, he doubted not, induce them to grant the supplies necessary to make good his engagements with that cheerfulness and affection which became a British House of Commons, tender of the honor of the Crown, careful and solicitous for the glory and prosperity of the kingdom." Never was the truth more apparent than at the present moment, of the memorable observation of Lord Moleworth on a former occasion, and which well deserves the repetition, "that to a man acquainted only with the situation of Great

Britain, and unapprized of the several petty interests of the Electorate of Hanover, the conduct of the English Court would appear not only fluctuating and capricious, but absolutely unintelligible and incomprehensible." For what shadow of pretence, connected with the interest of Great Britain, could be devised to justify or palliate an outrage upon the Emperor, so flagrant as the forcible introduction of foreign troops into Parma and Placentia by a British fleet, for the purpose of transferring those Dutchies, which were acknowledged fiefs of the Empire, to the King of Spain, previous to the investiture of his Imperial Majesty, and in direct contradiction to the laws and constitutions of the Empire; by this means wantonly and voluntarily incurring the eventual risque of a war with the House of Austria, the antient, natural, and faithful ally of Great Britain? The key to this apparently unaccountable and extravagant conduct is, however, perfectly easy. The two Imperial Courts of Vienna and Petersburg had not yet relinquished their designs in favor of the Duke of Holstein; and still flattered that Prince with the hope of procuring, either by amicable or hostile means, the restitution of the Dutchy of Sleswic, guaranteed originally by Hanover, and afterwards by England to the King of Denmark. So long, therefore, as this project was entertained, so long did the Elector-kings of England consider their

their favorite acquisitions of Bremen and Verden, which were the price and reward of that guarantee, as in the most imminent danger. For the sole purpose of counteracting this project was the Treaty of Hanover concluded; for this purpose was the insidious policy of France countenanced and encouraged by a continued refusal, on the part of England, to assent to the edict of the Pragmatic Sanction; for this purpose was the ambition of Spain gratified by the forcible introduction of troops into the Parmesan. In vain was it alleged, in opposition to the proposed address of approbation and support, "that our ancestors were never so complaisant as to declare their approval of measures without full and regular information respecting them. Why was it that the House pledged itself for the support of *any measures* of the executive government? Doubtless, on the ground of their being just and reasonable. But who could pronounce the measures in contemplation just, when no one could say what they were, or what they might ultimately prove to be? Every one, indeed, knew the enormous expence which this nation had incurred in their endeavours to reduce the exorbitant power of France, which, by a fatal negligence, had been suffered to arise to a height which menaced the general liberties of Europe. But by joining the House of Bourbon in this war against the House of Austria, France

might be enabled to extend her conquests beyond the Rhine, or, perhaps, to annex the Low Countries to her empire, and become more formidable than ever. It was affirmed, that French alliances had ever been fatal to England; that our Kings, by a connection with France, had been led to imbibe the love of arbitrary power, and encouraged to entertain designs against the liberty of their subjects; and that Gallic faith was to be depended upon no farther than their interest was concerned in adhering to it; that their enmity to England was inveterate; and that we should, in the end, pay dear for any temporary favors which they may seem to confer. And an amendment to the address was offered, that his Majesty should be desired not to concur in a war against the Emperor either in Flanders or upon the Rhine."

The Walpoles, and the courtiers in general who took part in the debate, maintained, in opposition to these objections, " that his Majesty's prudence was so great, and had been so strikingly manifested in his whole conduct since his happy accession, that no suspicion could reasonably be entertained of the propriety of his present or future measures; that the amendment now proposed was an encroachment on his Majesty's prerogative. They acknowledged that France ought not to extend the bounds of her empire, and his Majesty would, *no doubt*, take proper precautions to prevent the inconveniences

conveniences apprehended from the weight of the confederacy against the House of Austria; that the design of the potent alliance formed against the Emperor was to convince him of the impossibility of a successful resistance; it would be grossly impolitic, therefore, if the allies were restrained from attacking him in Flanders, or on the Rhine, where he was most vulnerable: By enfeebling the operations of the war, such restraint would virtually and proportionally add to the strength of the Emperor, and thereby make a pacification hopeless and impracticable." Another amendment was then proposed, far more judicious and comprehensive: "That the House would support his Majesty's engagements so far as they related to the interest of Great Britain;" and it was urged by Mr. Wyndham, the mover of it, "that the act of settlement, by virtue of which his Majesty held the Crown of these realms, expressly provided that this nation shall not be obliged to enter into a war for the defence of any dominions not belonging to the Crown of Great Britain; and that the House *could not* therefore, agreeably to this act, go farther than the amendment imported." To this the Minister and the courtiers replied, "that the adoption of this amendment would *seem to insinuate* that his Majesty *had* entered into engagements that did not relate to the interests of Great Britain; which would be the highest disrespect and ingratitude,

when those who had the honor to serve his Majesty could testify that the interest of Great Britain was the sole object of his Majesty's solicitude. They said that every member of the House was, they hoped, convinced that his Majesty never would enter into any engagement that was not absolutely necessary for the happiness and safety of his people, and therefore it was wholly unnecessary to narrow the assurances of support in the address by any such limitation." The House seeming, however, to pause upon the validity of these arguments, more fit indeed for a Turkish Divan than a British Senate, Mr. Heathcote arose, and declared, " that the offering of advice to his Majesty could never be regarded by him as an encroachment on the prerogative, since it was the proper business of Parliament, which was the King's Great Council, to advise the Crown in all matters of importance—it was what many Parliaments had done, and what they were obliged in duty to do; that to support any hostile operations against the Emperor in Flanders or upon the Rhine, was absolutely destructive to the interest of England, tending evidently to the total subversion of the balance of power; and the House had, therefore, good reason to believe that no Minister would DARE to advise his Majesty to concur in such a measure. Upon that account only he considered it as superfluous to advise his Majesty against it; that

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unanimity in their resolves was certainly desirable, and would undoubtedly add great weight to his Majesty's endeavors to effect a general accommodation of differences; that for his part he looked upon all addresses, containing assurances of support, as in their nature general, and no farther obligatory than the measures to be supported shall be found conducive to the public interest; that he, therefore, willingly concurred in the address as originally moved, taking it at present for granted, that the engagements alluded to were such as the interests of Great Britain required; but leaving himself at full liberty to object to any specific measures which should be moved by the Ministers of the Crown in pursuance of this address, if they appeared to him, in any respect, inconsistent with the public welfare. He was sure that his Majesty could mean nothing but what was for the advantage of the nation; and if the engagements in question proved otherwise, he should consider them as the engagements of the Minister, not of the King." Sir Joseph Jekyl and several other respectable and independent members declaring, that they regarded addresses precisely in the same light, and agreeably to the explanation now given, the opposition acquiesced, and the question passed in the affirmative without a division. But it could not escape the penetration of the Minister, how repugnant to the feelings of the House was

the idea now suggested, of carrying on an offensive war against the House of Austria, in concert with the two branches of the House of Bourbon. Ever since the conclusion of the Treaty of Hanover, a very large body of auxiliaries had been kept, at an immense expence, in constant pay, from the incessant apprehension of a war. But when the estimate for the charge of maintaining 12,000 Hessians came before the House, it was objected against as entirely superfluous: It was said, that if fears and apprehensions would justify the waste of money, thus lavished in subsidies, we should never be free from these burdens; that it was time enough to hire troops when we were actually involved in war, and there was no doubt, from the disposition of the European princes, that men might be always had for money. These objections, however, were over-ruled, and the troops continued in pay, under the idea that to dismiss them at the present crisis, though their actual services might not be called for, would tend to encourage the Emperor in his contumacy.

Notwithstanding the recent convention of Seville, complaints were renewed from all parts, of the depredations and cruelties committed by the Spaniards in the West Indies: And the House of Commons, satisfied of the truth of these allegations, presented an address to the King, desiring  
“ that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to  
continue



continue his endeavor to prevent such depredations for the future; to procure full satisfaction for the damages already sustained; and to secure to the British subjects the full and uninterrupted exercise of their trade and navigation, to and from the British colonies in America."

A very judicious Bill was at this period introduced into Parliament, and passed into a law, for preventing delays of justice, occasioned by the use of the Latin tongue in proceedings at law, and enacting that all those processes and pleadings should be entered in the English language. There are not wanting, however, at all times many inveterate enemies of INNOVATION, "who cherish old prejudices because they are prejudices," and who have in all ages been found equally eager and obstinate in opposing the most salutary reforms; and it was urged by this class of men, on the present occasion, that this Bill would render useless the antient records, which were written in that language—and far from expediting, would introduce confusion and delay of justice, by altering the ESTABLISHED form and method of judicial proceedings. These reasonings, however, did not prevail; and this law remains an incontrovertible proof that—INNOVATION may *possibly* be the medium of improvement. In the debate on the Pension Bill, now for the second time passed by the Commons and rejected by the Lords, Dr. Sherlock, Bishop of Bangor, gave high offence,

offence, by declaring “ that an independent House of Commons, or an independent House of Lords, is as inconsistent with our constitution—as an independent, that is absolute, King; and that a lover of his country will no more desire to see the one than the other.” This proposition, nevertheless, understood in a sober and qualified sense, cannot be justly controverted. For a Parliament, absolutely independent of the Crown, would in a short time infallibly reduce the Crown to a state of absolute and abject dependence upon itself. And, unquestionably, it is not by the perpetual conflicts of authority, but by the reciprocal dependence of the different branches of Government, that the balance of the Constitution, and the harmony of its movements, is most advantageously and effectually preserved. And a total annihilation of that influence, the prodigious and dangerous preponderance of which, this Bill was wisely calculated to check, would be attended with a train of new and alarming political evils. Lord Carteret, who had now joined the opposition, defended the principle and practical operation of this Bill with great eloquence and energy. In consequence of the Bishop of Bangor’s invidious opposition to it, a motion was made for leavetobring a Bill into the House of Commons, to prevent the translation of Bishops; which, the utmost influence of the Court being exerted against it, passed, on a division, in the negative.

On

the 7th May 1731, the Session was opened by a speech, in which his Majesty informed the two Houses "that a treaty of peace had been signed at Vienna \*, and the ratifications exchanged between him and the Emperor. As this Treaty, he said, principally regarded the execution of the Treaty of Seville, it was communicated to the Courts of France and Spain, as parties to that Treaty; and it was now under the consideration of the States-General, who had been invited to accede to it. He added, that the new engagements entered into by him on this occasion, were agreeable to the necessary concern which this nation must always have, for the security and preservation of the balance of power in Europe: And he expressed his assurance, that all malicious insinuations to the prejudice of his measures must vanish, when it so evidently appeared that his first and principal care had been for the interest and honor of this kingdom." By this Treaty his Imperial Majesty agreed that Spain should take possession of the Dutchies of Parma and Placentia for the Infant Don Carlos, in the mode prescribed by the Treaty of Seville; and that the Ostend Company, which had given such umbrage to the maritime powers, should be totally dissolved, on condition that England, and the other contracting powers of the Treaty of Seville, should become

\* March 16, 1731.

guarantees of the Pragmatic Sanction. And the Duke of Parma dying at this juncture, an English fleet under Sir Charles Wager was fitted out, which having joined the Spanish fleet at Barcelona, convoyed the Spanish troops destined for Italy to Leghorn, Don Carlos himself taking the route of France; when the Imperial forces which had marched into Parma being withdrawn, the Infant took peaceable possession of his new territories.

Thus at length was terminated the violent and acrimonious contest, which for more than seven years had divided the House of Austria from Great Britain, its antient and faithful ally. And nothing can be more clear and evident, from an impartial review and summary of facts, than that the quarrel originated solely in the unfortunate connection formed by this nation, at the accession of the present royal family, with the Electorate of Hanover, whose interests stood almost constantly and diametrically opposed to that of England. Jealous of the aspiring views of the House of Lunenburg in the Empire, the Emperor could never be brought cordially to concur in the measures concerted for the security of the new acquisitions of Bremen and Verden, and still less in the insidious designs of the Court of Herenhausen upon the Dutchy of Mecklenburg; although, to merit the favor of the Court of Vienna, the King of England scrupled not to engage in a war with  
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Spain, with whom Great Britain had then no imaginable pretence of dispute, and actually effected the transfer of the island of Sicily from the House of Savoy to the House of Austria. Finding the Emperor still cold and intractable, it was thought necessary to enter into stricter connections with France, who readily gave her countenance and support to the petty schemes of electoral aggrandizement, so long as the House of Austria was deprived, by this artful policy, of the strength she derived from the powerful alliance of Great Britain. By the Treaty signed at Madrid, therefore, A. D. 1721, a SECRET DEFENSIVE ALLIANCE was, by a SEPARATE ARTICLE, concluded between England, France, and Spain, to which the Dutch were left at liberty to accede, and all the late acquisitions of Hanover secured by an EXPLICIT GUARANTEE: And in return, Spain was artfully and insidiously flattered with the hope of the restitution of Gibraltar. After the conclusion of this Treaty, the Court of London was very little solicitous to obtain for the Emperor advantageous or satisfactory terms of pacification with Spain; and the Congress of Cambray, which was convened under the pretended mediation of England and France, after a long and tedious negotiation, broke up *re infecta*. But the Court of Spain in process of time, finding her expectation of recovering Gibraltar wholly delusive, and enraged at the  
affront

affront offered to the Infanta by France, became anxious to establish a real and permanent amity with the Emperor—not, however, without inviting the King of England to become the sole arbitrator of their differences. Though nothing, certainly, could be more favorable to the interests of Great Britain, than this happy occasion of detaching Spain for ever from her connection with France; it was rejected, from the apprehension of giving umbrage to that power, upon whom Hanover at this period relied for the support of her new acquisitions and farther schemes of aggrandizement. A treaty of peace and alliance, nevertheless, between Spain and the Emperor, being quickly signed at Vienna, without the intervention of any foreign power, the memorable Treaty of Hanover was concluded between England and France, to which all the powers of Europe under their influence were urged to accede. In order to give a plausible color to this treaty, so contrary to the interests of Great Britain, much was said on the necessity of reducing the exorbitant power of the House of Austria, which England had lately been at such an immense expense of blood and treasure to establish. And a violent and absurd clamor was raised against the Imperial East-India Company of Ostend, as creating a rivalry fatal to the commercial interests of Great Britain. But the real object of the Treaty of Hanover, on the part  
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of the King of England, was evidently no other than to counterbalance the designs of the two Imperial Courts, now in strict alliance with Spain, for the restoration of Sleswic, Bremen, and Verden, the evacuation of Mecklenburg, and the final annihilation of the ambitious projects of Hanover. The views by which France was actuated were, however, of a far more elevated and comprehensive nature. For the great object of the policy of the Court of Vienna, at this period, being to secure to the eldest daughter of the Emperor the undivided succession of the House of Austria, France could discover no other method so certain to defeat that design, and to lay the foundation of the ruin of that House, and its own consequent unrivalled pre-eminence, by the dismemberment of its vast possessions, whenever the dissolution of the Emperor, now in the decline of life, should take place, than to detach Great Britain entirely from its antient and natural ally. The treaties of Vienna and Hanover, A. D. 1725, in which almost all the powers of Europe were parties, had nearly given rise to a general war; which, however, was with much difficulty averted, by the preliminaries signed at Aix-la-Chapelle, A. D. 1727. At the ensuing conferences for a final pacification at Soissons, France having found means to effect a reconciliation with Spain, the Court of Vienna, which still espoused the interests of the Dukes of Holstein

Holstein and Mecklenburg, found itself greatly overbalanced and almost deserted. The Imperial Minister's demand of the guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction was treated with neglect and contempt; and the English Ministers, *after having conferred with those of France*, answered, that the Pragmatic Sanction was not the point in question—that not being the object of the present disputes, it ought not to be a subject of the present negotiations, and that the proposition was not *traitable*. The plenipotentiaries of Holland, however, who were not under the same artificial and extrinsic bias, refused to join in this answer—declaring, on the contrary, that they thought it a point which might hereafter so highly affect the tranquillity of Europe, that it deserved consideration at least, and an inquiry what the Emperor would do in exchange for it. Thus the Congress of Soissons broke up, like the former Congress of Cambray, to the mutual satisfaction of France and Hanover, leaving the security of the Austrian succession to the decision of chance and fortune. It was now the policy of France, to accommodate the differences subsisting between the Courts of Madrid and London, and to unite them both in a firm opposition to the Emperor. For this purpose the Treaty of Seville was concluded, under the mediation of France, and mortal offence given to the Emperor, by the stipulated introduction of Spanish troops into the Dutchies of Parma and



and Placentia, previous to the granting the Imperial investiture. Upon such high ground did the Court of London, or rather of Herenhausen, now conceive itself to stand, that it presumed to insult the Emperor by an offer, made (1730), in conjunction with her high allies, France and Spain, to guarantee the succession of the Austrian dominions—in ITALY *only*—to the Arch-duchess Maria Theresa, eldest daughter of the Emperor, on the condition that the affairs of SLESWIC and MECKLENBURG were regulated to their joint satisfaction. This proposition, however, was rejected with disdain; and his Imperial Majesty appearing determined to risk a war with the House of Bourbon, —a war in which England had with the grossest and most culpable inattention to her interests and even to her safety, and the extreme hazard of entirely subverting the balance of power in Europe, involved herself as a principal,—the ministers of the Crown, who had ventured to the edge of the precipice, as the crisis approached, recoiled at the view of the gulph into which they were about to plunge. Apparently alarmed at the rashness and absurdity of their own projects, they suddenly resolved to set on foot a negotiation at Vienna; as the basis of which, an offer was made of the guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction, including the whole Austrian succession, by Great Britain. This the Emperor readily and

gladly embraced. In return, the investitures of Bremen and Verden were conceded; Hanover was to receive a stipulated sum in lieu of all its claims upon Mecklenburg; and, “*to preserve the peace of LOWER SAXONY, and to put an end to the CAUSE of troubles in the NORTH;*” the Emperor and Russia guaranteed SLESWIC to the King of Denmark, upon condition that one million of rix-dollars were paid to the Duke of Holstein as an *equivalent*—500,000 down, and 100,000 per ann. till the whole was completed\*. And however reluctant the Duke of Holstein might be to part with Sleswic upon such terms, he was compelled to accept of this pretended equivalent, or seek elsewhere for protectors. The Treaty of Vienna being concluded without the participation of France, in direct contravention of an article of the Treaty of

\* It is a curious circumstance, that Denmark declared itself under no obligation to make good this equivalent—having been long in actual possession of Sleswic under the guarantee of Hanover. And though his Danish Majesty afterwards consented to the payment of this sum, it will be found, conformably to the accounts delivered in to Parliament, Feb. 10 and 12, 1735, that the sums paid, or to be paid, on different pretences to Denmark within a certain specified time, amount to the complete sum of *one million of rix-dollars*: So that there exists a strong presumption that the Dutchy of Sleswic, thus bought and sold by contract of two foreign potentates, was at last paid for out of the pockets of the simple and unsuspecting people of Great Britain.

Hanover,

Hanover, all real amity between the two Courts of London and Versailles was now at an end; and a cold exterior civility succeeded to that confidence which had subsisted without interruption for the space of fifteen years. The Treaty of Hanover was considered on both sides as virtually renounced by the late Treaty of Vienna, to which the States-General soon acceded, and which seemed to establish, by the guarantee of the maritime powers, the Pragmatic Sanction, so much the object of Gallic jealousy and aversion, on a firm and solid basis. The politics of Europe now reverted to their antient and regular order. But it is obvious that England and Holland had undertaken this guarantee, at a period far less favorable than that which had occurred at the former Treaty of Vienna, six years before; and that through a preposterous predilection and attachment to the views and interests of Hanover, a most propitious opportunity of dissolving for ever the political connection of Spain and France was irretrievably lost; and that by the re-union of those powers, France was encouraged to persist in prosecuting those schemes of ambition which she had long cherished for the future humiliation of the House of Austria, and which, in the sequel, England thought it necessary to employ such mighty efforts to oppose and defeat. "Truth, says a noble cotemporary writer, should be made known; and it should be

known to those whom it most imports to know it—those are the best friends to the King and Kingdom, who, by shewing how incompatible the interests of the Electorate are with those of Great Britain, may suggest the prudent and necessary measure of separating the dominions themselves, and supplying that great defect in the Act of Settlement, which every body now wishes had been done, and wonders was not \*.”

On the regular return of the Session, Jan. 1732, the King made an elaborate speech to both Houses, containing a very high eulogium upon his own conduct. “He congratulated the Parliament on the restoration of the general tranquillity; and he affirmed, that the part taken in the late transactions by the Crown of Great Britain, had redounded much to *the honor and interest* of the nation. By the Treaty of Seville, he said, that union of the Imperial and Catholic Crowns, which had given

\* Vide a series of Tracts styled, “Case of the Hanover Forces,” with a first and second “Vindication” of the same, ascribed to the Earl of Chesterfield. The first of these tracts was answered by Mr. Horace Walpole, afterwards Lord Walpole, brother to the Minister, in a publication styled, “The Interests of Great Britain steadily pursued.” Lord Chesterfield, in his Vindication, shrewdly remarks, “that the three years in which the writer of the pamphlet declared himself so violently against Hanover-projects, ought at least to be excepted out of the British scheme of politics, which he undertakes to demonstrate hath been so *steadily pursued*.”

such

such universal alarm, had been dissolved ; and the execution of that treaty, supposed to be attended with insurmountable difficulties, was at length happily accomplished. Parma and Placentia were in the actual possession of Don Carlos, and the reversion of Tuscany secured by an express convention with the Great Duke. Parliament had seen, he said, the happy effects of their zeal and resolution—and now reaped the fruits of the confidence which they had reposed in him ; and it must be a great satisfaction to them to reflect that the expense incurred had been so amply recompensed." It is observable, that in the whole series of royal speeches and messages in this and the preceding reign, not a syllable is mentioned of Bremen, Sleswic, or Mecklenburg, the secret springs of every resolution taken by the English Court respecting the affairs of the Continent for almost twenty years past. And with a firm reliance on the complaisance of the Parliament, and the ignorance of the people, a bold—for a harsher epithet would be indecorous—a bold attempt was now made to establish the idea that the quarrel between Great Britain and the Emperor, respected solely the investiture of the Dutchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia :—Although, had this indeed been the fact, scarcely would it have amounted to an extenuation of the folly. For to whom these Dutchies should belong, was an object wholly

beneath the attention of Great Britain: And admitting the necessity of preserving the equipoize of power, they could be considered as little more than dust in the balance. If King WILLIAM has incurred just censure for involving this nation too deeply in continental politics—if the blood and treasure of Great Britain were in his reign lavished with a too unsparing hand—at least it must be acknowledged, that the ends he had in view were in the highest degree noble, just, and disinterested. The *Grand Alliance* was not projected by that renowned monarch, in order to procure the cession of a district, to be added to his principality of Orange; but for the glorious purpose of asserting the liberty and independency of Christendom, in opposition to the aspiring aims of an haughty tyrant; and of fixing an insurmountable barrier to the farther progress of his triumphs. Absorbed in the contemplation of this great object, his ideas rose infinitely above all those miserable artifices of petty aggrandizement, which had, for so many years previous to this period, perplexed the counsels, and interrupted the repose, of nations. When an address was moved by Lord Hervey \*, in the usual

\* This nobleman long occupied a place in the foremost rank of courtiers, and was a frequent speaker in Parliament, though with little claim to historic notice. His endowments appear to have been very superficial, and his manners effeminately frivolous; though,

usual style of courtly adulation and submission, the indignation of the Patriots seemed uncommonly excited; and the incoherency, and absurdity, of the whole political system of the Court were ably and vigorously exposed. Sir Wilfred Lawson, who first rose, observed, "that the treaties, respecting which so much had been said, were not yet before the House; therefore he was not prepared to join in the approval of them. It appeared, however, sufficiently plain, that notwithstanding the great things we had done for Spain, very little satisfaction had as yet been received for the injuries done to us. He knew of nothing, a vague order of his Catholic Majesty to the governors of his ports in the West Indies against illegal depredations excepted, upon which any construction they thought proper might be put; but this surely could not be considered as a sufficient reparation of past injuries." Mr. Shippen "confessed himself so unfashionable, that he neither pretended to judge without information,

though, by a duel with Mr. Pulteney, he sufficiently established his character for personal courage. Lord Hervey's quarrel with POPE is well known. The portrait drawn by that vindictive Satirist of this nobleman under the name of Sporus, is replete with malignity and distortion; though, had it been perfectly just, the poet stands deservedly condemned by his own previous acknowledgement:

Satire or sense, alas! can Sporus feel?

Who breaks a butterfly upon a wheel?

or to applaud without reason. The servile and flattering addresses now in vogue, he said, were unknown in former times;—in opposing them, he shewed his regard for the honor and dignity of that House; and for his reputation as a courtier, he felt little concern. He moved, therefore, to leave out the complimentary paragraphs, and to restrain the address to a general expression of thanks to his Majesty, and of satisfaction at the establishment of general tranquillity. But the most interesting and eloquent speech on this occasion was made by Mr. Pulteney, who declared, that if we were now right, he was certain that the time had long ago elapsed, when we might have been *as right*, with infinitely less expense and trouble. But at the period to which he alluded, the guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction was represented as inconsistent with the interest and happiness of the nation, by the very persons who now plume themselves, and demand the applause of the House for assenting to it. For his part, he said, he neither considered the Pragmatic Sanction in so formidable, or in so favorable a light, as the present Ministers had, at different times, done. Admitting it to be agreeable to the general interests of England, that the Austrian succession should be transmitted whole and undivided, he greatly doubted the policy of our obliging ourselves, by an explicit and positive guarantee, to maintain this succession at a future



future and indeterminate period, when England might, for reasons impossible to foresee, find it very incompatible with her interest to engage in a foreign war upon any account : And no alternative would be then left us, but to violate our faith, or to risque our safety. To violate the national faith, indeed, he observed, was no new thing with the present Ministers ; for the Treaty of Vienna itself was concluded in violation of the Treaty of Hanover, to the conditions of which, though Prussia had withdrawn herself, France and Holland had strictly adhered. He could not, therefore, allow, that in the late transactions either the *interest* or the *honor* of the nation had been consulted. With regard to the forcible introduction of Don Carlos into Italy, that Prince, whose name had, for several years past, been converted to such commodious uses, and who, according to a judicious observation in the course of this debate, was either a *giant* or an *infant* as it suited the purpose of the Court—Mr. Pulteney declared that he thought it very likely to prove the origin of fresh troubles. But if, upon the whole, our affairs abroad were now wisely adjusted, and our domestic grievances were to be, at the same time, completely redressed, the Minister at the helm of government might be compared to a pilot who, though there was a clear, safe, and strait channel into harbor, took it into his head to navigate the ship  
through

through rocks, sands, and shallows, and after much danger and much damage, at last, by chance, hits the port, and triumphs in his good conduct." In reply to Mr. Pulteney, Mr. Horace Walpole, upon whom the Minister willingly devolved the task of defending his system of foreign politics, undertook to demonstrate "the wisdom and rectitude of those measures of administration, so contemptuously derided and so injuriously arraigned. —He wished, he said, to be informed to what period of time the observations of the last speaker were intended to refer. He knew that the guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction had been proposed to us some years ago ; but then it was in a style so dogmatic, that it was inconsistent with the honor of his Majesty and of the nation to pay the slightest attention to it. Besides, there was just reason to fear that Don Carlos was the person fixed upon by his Imperial Majesty as his successor ; and it was manifestly against the interests of Great Britain to contribute to the establishment of a Prince in the entire possession of the Austrian succession, who held in his own right dominions so considerable in Italy, and who was so nearly related to the Crowns both of Spain and France. This guarantee was again offered when the Treaty of Seville was in agitation, but it was again rejected, because it was well known to be intended only to *disturb the negotiation*. But as soon as the Treaty of

of Seville was concluded, and the Emperor became reasonable in his proposals, we embraced the opportunity, and joined without reserve in the guarantee. As to any inconvenience which might arise from a supposed eventual inability to maintain our engagements, he would take upon him to assert, that were the Imperial House in danger of subversion, we *must* engage in their rescue, let our circumstances be at the time what they will; for our own ruin was closely and inevitably connected with theirs. This guarantee he affirmed it would have been highly desirable to have entered into sooner, on account of the fatal consequences which might have ensued in case of the demise of the Emperor. But it was impossible to agree to it, till his Imperial Majesty had given satisfaction to Spain respecting the Italian Dutchies, and to England and Holland in regard to the Ostend Company, which his Majesty, by the wisdom, vigor, and *steadiness* of his measures, had at last procured. He begged leave to repeat the expression, the *steadiness* of his Majesty's measures; for, he said, though the means were various, the objects of those measures were uniform—the preservation of the balance of power, and the assertion of our commercial rights. We had engaged by the Quadruple Alliance to see the Infant Don Carlos settled in the succession of the Italian Dutchies; and Spain *could not be easy* till this was effect.

effectuated, nor could we or our allies, the Dutch, *be easy*, till we saw the Ostend Company absolutely demolished. As soon as these two grand points were conceded by the Imperial Court, we began to think seriously of establishing the future tranquillity of Europe, and the balance of power, on a solid foundation ; for which purpose we had at length agreed to the formal guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction. How then could it be affirmed that the honor and interest of the nation had not been consulted in our foreign negotiations, or that our engagements had not been fulfilled? France had no reason to be dissatisfied, having declared that her sole object was the preservation of the general tranquillity, agreeably to the terms of the Quadruple Alliance, which was accomplished by the Treaty of Vienna: And the fact was, that the Court of Versailles had declared itself satisfied \*. As to the commercial differences between England and Spain, they were referred to the decision of commissaries, who, there was every reason to believe, would settle all points in dispute in an amicable manner." This speech was no less favorably received by the majority of the House, than the

\* Upon the same principle, doubtless, on which SHYLOCK, after "recording a gift of all his wealth," declares, in answer to the question, "Art thou contented, Jew?"—"I am content;" though a catastrophe not very pleasing certainly in itself, and little to be expected from the tenor of the existing BOND.

harangue formerly made by this Minister in vindication of the Treaty of Hanover ; and the address, as originally moved, was presented to his Majesty, who declared in reply, “ that he had no doubt of the continuance of the affection and confidence of the House, and that they should ever find his views tending to the honor, interest, and security, of his Crown and People.”

The nation being at length allowed, and asserted on the highest authority, to be in a state of actual and perfect security, a grand effort was thought advisable by the patriots in opposition, or the *Country-party*, as they were now generally styled, to effect a reduction of the standing army. This rooted and habitual grievance the Courtiers endeavoured to disguise and soften, by bestowing upon it the appellation of a *parliamentary army*, as voted and maintained by parliamentary authority. They pleaded, that this force was necessary to secure the interior tranquillity of the kingdom, and to overawe malcontents, though too inconsiderable to excite the jealousy of the people even under an ambitious Monarch, and much less under a Prince who could not be accused, or even suspected, of entertaining the remotest wish of infringing upon the liberties of his subjects. In favor of the reduction it was argued, “ that a standing military force in time of peace had, previous to the æra of the Revolution, always been accounted not only superfluous, but unconstitutional and danger-

dangerous; that the internal tranquillity of the country might be secured, as heretofore it had been, by the civil power aided by the militia, which, under proper regulation, was as capable of discipline, and as active in exertion, as a standing army; that the number of malcontents was altogether contemptible; but that the most effectual means of increasing it was, the obstinate perseverance in measures odious and arbitrary; that though they had all imaginable confidence in his Majesty's regard for the liberty of his subjects, should a standing army be ingrafted into the constitution, another Prince might arise of more dangerous talents and of deeper designs, and employ it for the worst purposes of ambition: That other nations had been enslaved by standing armies; and though the officers were at present men of honor and probity, these might be easily discarded, and the army new-modelled, in order to effect the subversion of the Constitution. The expense of this great military force was also insisted upon as extremely burdensome and oppressive to the nation; and it was asserted that the money raised for the subsistence of 18 or 20,000 men in England, would maintain 60,000 French or Germans. Previous to the Revolution it was well known that the people of England did not raise above two millions for the whole of the public charge; but now the current expense far exceeded that sum, and the civil list, the interest due to the public

public creditors and the sinking fund, added together, composed a burden of six millions yearly ; and though at so recent a period as the accession of the late King, the army did not exceed 6000 men, it was now augmented, on various pretences, to more than three times that number. And farther pretences would never be wanting, were Parliament willing to listen to them for farther augmentations." These arguments, however, proved wholly fruitless and unavailing \*, and in proportion to the frequency of their repetition, the impression seems to have been impaired and weakened ; for it is unhappily, though unquestionably, certain, that, for almost a century past, the *standing army* has been a *progressive army*, and that every effort for its reduction has terminated in its increase and enlargement. Such was the offence given by Mr. Pulteney to the Court by the zealous part he took in this and other political questions at this period, that the King, calling for the council-book, with his own hand struck out his name from the list of Privy Counsellors, which, however, only served to extend his fame, and establish his popularity.

\* The numbers on the division were 241 against 171 voices. Lord Hervey urging the multiplicity of seditious writings, as an argument against any reduction of the military force ; Mr. Plumer replied, " that if *scribblers* gave the government uneasiness, they ought to employ *scribblers*, and not soldiers, to defend them from the danger."

Not-

Notwithstanding the indiscriminate support given by Sir Robert Walpole, after the example of his predecessors, to the long-established royal system of continental politics, and without which he well knew the impossibility of maintaining possession, even for a day, of his high and precarious office, it ought not to be supposed that this Minister was absolutely indifferent to the interest and welfare of the kingdom over whose councils he presided. This it would be flagrant injustice to affirm. His situation was, in many respects, critical and hazardous; and if just allowance be made for the difficulties and embarrassments which he perpetually experienced from the prevalence of Hanoverian prejudices on the one side, and Jacobite prejudices on the other, it will not perhaps be too much to assert, that a man, upon the whole, better adapted to the station which he occupied, or better qualified to discharge the various and complicated duties of it, could no-where be found. To change the Minister would have availed nothing without a radical change of system; and so long as the nation at large shall continue to approve, or acquiesce in, this corrupt and defective system, where is the Minister to be found, who shall with sincerity and earnestness labor to accomplish any comprehensive plan of political reform? Or, indeed, what right have we to expect from any man such an heroic and, at the same time, useless effort of virtue?



virtue. The celebrated statesman whose character and conduct we have now been contemplating—and whose actions have been brought to the test of that fiery ordeal of relentless truth and justice which human frailty is so incompetent to abide, and over whose burning plough-shares no man ever yet with impunity passed—was possessed, nevertheless, of talents admirably calculated for public life. An understanding clear, masculine, and vigorous, was in him combined with a temper mild, equable, and dispassionate. And by the most perfect accuracy and regularity of method, the toils of government were rendered apparently easy and pleasant. He was fully sensible of the folly of that warlike spirit, which had predominated in the British councils since the æra of the Revolution. The favorite object of his administration, was to preserve and maintain the general tranquillity; and the Treaty of Vienna, recently concluded at a moment so critical, strongly indicated his extreme solicitude for the continuance of peace. He conceived the prosperity of the nation to be most effectually advanced by the encouragement of manufactures and commerce, the true principles of which he perfectly comprehended and steadily pursued. His return to office had been distinguished by a most beneficial alteration of the commercial system of Great Britain, in the abrogation of a multiplicity of duties payable on the importa-

tion of raw materials, and the exportation of wrought goods. And it has been affirmed, that he found the English book of rates almost the worst, and left it the very best, in Europe. At this period he had formed a project, to which he appears to have been incited by the clearest conviction of its utility, for effecting a radical alteration in the national system of taxation. The principal branches of the revenue might at this time be divided into port-duties or customs—duties of excise—and taxes levied on immoveable property, such as the duties on land, houses, hearths, and windows. This latter description of duties the Minister considered as of a nature highly oppressive, partial, and inequitable. And the various taxes on consumable commodities, to which every citizen contributes in an exact proportion to his consumption; and which, being included in the price of the commodity, are easily and insensibly paid; constituted, in his opinion, incomparably the most eligible mode of raising the supplies necessary for the public service. He also well knew the gross and shameless frauds daily practised in the collection of the customs; and which, from the very nature of those frauds, and the extreme facility of committing them, he had no hope to remedy. He thought, therefore, that to convert the greater part of the customs into duties of excise, would be equally advantageous to government, and to the

the fair trader ; and that the laws of excise might be so ameliorated, that, notwithstanding the odium generally attached to them as oppressive and arbitrary, no just or real ground of complaint should remain. With a view, therefore, to an essential change in the first species of taxation, and to the eventual annihilation of the last, he brought into the House, in the month of February 1732, a bill for the revival of the salt duties, which had been repealed some years back, as a substitute for one shilling in the pound of the land-tax—and if this proposal met the approbation of the House, he signified his intention—the land-tax being at this time two shillings only in the pound—altogether to abolish that tax in the course of the ensuing session ; in which he declared he should rejoice, as the annihilation of a most grievous and intolerable burden. “ The duty on salt, he said, affected, it was true, all classes of citizens, the poor as well as the rich ; but the burden of this tax being so equally and generally diffused, the sum contributed by the lower classes of the people would be found, on computation, so trifling, as scarcely to deserve the mention. This tax, while it existed, was never the subject of complaint ; and when it was repealed, no one seemed to think himself benefited. He knew, he said, the reproaches he had to expect on this occasion ; but he had been long accustomed to be affronted and insulted, both

within the walls of that place, and without : And while he knew his intentions to be upright, and his only aim to serve his country to the best of his knowlege, and the utmost of his power, he should continue to disregard those reflections which he was conscious he did not deserve." After very vehement and obstinate debates, in which the Minister was repeatedly charged with deep and malignant designs against the liberties of his country, and the welfare and happiness of his fellow-citizens, which no one perhaps seriously suspected him to harbor, the bill passed by a majority of 207 voices against 135. And it must be acknowledged, that the opposition against the measures of Sir Robert Walpole's administration was so invariable, and at times so intemperate, that the bounds of patriotism and faction seem to have been divided by a very slender partition. In the course of the present session, the Pension Bill was a third time passed by the Commons and rejected by the Lords. And on the 1st June 1732, the King terminated the session with a speech, in which he informed the Parliament of the formal accession of the States-General to the Treaty of Vienna ; and declared his intention of visiting his Electoral dominions, and of leaving the Queen, as before, sole Regent during his absence. On his arrival in Germany, he had the satisfaction at length to receive the investitures of the Dutchies of Bremen and Verden,

den, so long solicited, and so long delayed by the policy, pride, or resentment of the Emperor.

During this summer, Victor Amadeus, the abdicated monarch of Sardinia, was discovered to be deeply engaged, at the instigation of his wife, the Marchioness of St. Sebastian, in intrigues for the resumption of the Crown—upon which, his person was seized by order of his son, the reigning King, and conveyed to Rivoli; and the Marchioness committed close prisoner to the Castle of Seva. And the world had a new proof, little wanted indeed, how weak are the ties of gratitude and affection, when placed in competition with the suggestions of ambition and interest.

At this period, a royal charter was granted for the settlement of a new colony to the southward of the Carolinas, to which the name of Georgia was given: And General Oglethorpe, a man distinguished for the activity and ardor of his benevolence, was appointed Governor \*, and embarked at Greenwich with a number of families, who founded a town called Savannah on the river of that name. This enterprize excited the jealousy and apprehension of the Spaniards; and as it was difficult, or rather impossible, to ascertain the precise limits of the English colony of Georgia and the Spanish settlement of Florida, a founda-

\* “One—driven by strong benevolence of soul—  
Shall fly like OGLETHORPE, from pole to pole.” POPE.

tion of future dispute and contention between the two nations was unavoidably laid. Previous to the final decision of government respecting this measure, seven chiefs of the Cherokee and other southern Indian tribes, were conveyed to England; and being introduced to the King, surrendered, by a formal deed, in the name of their countrymen, all right of property and dominion in the lands now about to be occupied by the new colonists. And in amazement at the riches and magnificence of the British Court, they are said to have laid their crowns and ensigns of dignity at the King's feet, requesting to be received in the number of his subjects.

Parliament being convened as usual, early in the year 1733, a motion was framed and approved for an address to the King, to know what satisfaction had been made by Spain, for the depredations committed on the British merchants—to which the King replied, “ that the meetings of the commissaries of the two Crowns had been delayed by unforeseen accidents, and that a perfect account of their proceedings could not as yet be laid before the House of Commons.” On the motion relative to the army estimates in the Committee of Supply, which differed not materially from those of the last year, a violent debate arose; and the arguments formerly urged were again repeated and anew enforced. Mr. Horace Walpole, in reply, hesitated

hesitated not to assert, "that the number of troops then proposed was absolutely necessary to support his Majesty's government, and would be necessary so long as the nation enjoyed the happiness of having the present illustrious family on the throne."

Mr. Shippen remarked upon this assertion, "that the question seemed at length to have taken a new turn—for, in former debates, the continuance of the army *for one year only* had been contended for; but now the masque was thrown off, and the House was given to understand that it was intended to be PERPETUAL. This he would not believe could come from his Majesty. His Majesty KNEW how much the nation was loaded with debts and taxes—and how *inconsistent it was with our constitution to keep up a standing army in time of peace.*"

Mr. Shippen, being called vehemently to order for these last words, declared himself "peculiarly unfortunate; for that, in a former Parliament, he had incurred the severe displeasure and censure of that House, for asserting that the late Monarch *was unacquainted* with the constitution; and he now gave high offence, by declaring that his present Majesty *was not unacquainted* with the constitution." On a division, the motion was carried by 239 votes against 171.

In deliberating upon the supplies to be granted for the ensuing year, Sir Robert Walpole moved that the sum of £ 500,000 should be issued out of

the Sinking Fund for current services. This was the first open and direct attack upon the Sinking Fund \*; and it produced a most animated and indignant remonstrance from the patriotic party, who warned the Minister, though in vain, that he was drawing down the curses of posterity upon his head—and expatiated upon the iniquity of pillaging, in a time of profound peace, this sacred deposit, and demonstrated the folly of sacrificing the inestimable advantages arising from the undisturbed and progressive operation of this fund, to a little temporary ease; and conjured him not to demolish with his own hand, the fairest monument of his fame. Sir William Wyndham acknowledged, “that he had never been without apprehension that violence might be offered to this fund, by an enterprising Minister, in case of exigency and in a time of war: But to see attempts made upon it in a season of perfect tranquillity, was what he never expected. Is the public expenditure, exclaimed this patriotic speaker, never to be lessened? Are the people of England always to groan under the same heavy and grievous taxes? Surely, if there is any intention of diminishing the present enormous debt of the nation, now is

\* Between the years 1727 and 1732, various new loans were made, the interests of which were charged upon different surpluses, appertaining, conformably to the original plan of redemption, to the Sinking Fund.



the time for doing it. What can be said in vindication of those who are thus loading posterity? Can they imagine that there will ever be less occasion for public expence—or can they imagine that our descendants will possess greater ability for discharging these incumbrances, than ourselves? Surely not—unless far other and wiser measures of government should be adopted, than any which have yet originated from the present Ministers.” No impression, however, could be made upon the predetermined purpose of the Minister; and the measure received without difficulty the sanction of the House of Commons: And though, in the House of Lords, it was again attacked, with the united powers of argument, wit, and eloquence, by the Lords Bathurst, Chesterfield, and Carteret, it finally received the royal assent.

The compliant disposition of Parliament now encouraged the Minister to bring forward, in pursuance of the grand plan of revenue reform before mentioned, his famous bill for subjecting the duties on wine and tobacco to the laws of excise. But probably to the surprize, certainly to the chagrin, of the Minister, on moving his primary resolution, “that the duties on tobacco do from the 24th June 1733 cease and determine,” no less than 205 members divided against it—the majority, in a house of 471 members, being only 61.

No

to enforce any system of taxation at the expense of blood; for if supplies were to be raised by the sword, there is an end of British liberty. He was therefore resolved to adjourn the report for six months; or, should his opinion be over-ruled, to make an immediate resignation of his office."

The unfortunate Pension Bill, passed for the fourth time, in four successive years, by the House of Commons, was for the fourth time thrown out by the House of Peers; although, as a measure which solely regarded the purity and integrity of the national representation, these repeated rejections appeared particularly harsh and invidious on the part of the Lords. On the 11th June 1733, the King closed the session with a speech, in which severe notice was taken of "the wicked endeavors that had been lately used to inflame the minds of the people, by the most unjust representations."

EUROPE was now destined to be involved in fresh troubles. These were occasioned by the death of Augustus, King of Poland and Elector of Saxony, January 1733. The candidates for the vacant Crown were, Augustus son to the late King, and Stanislaus, whom Charles XII. in the zenith of his prosperity had elevated to the throne, and which, on the decline of that monarch's fortune, he had been compelled to relinquish. Louis XV. King of France, having married the daughter of Stanislaus, supported the pretensions of this Prince  
with

with all his power; and the Polish Primate, and a majority of the Diet, being gained over by the intrigues of the French Ambassador, proceeded to the election, and Stanislaus was unanimously chosen King at Warsaw, and proclaimed with loud acclamations. The Imperial Courts of Vienna and Petersburg, however, between whom it is remarkable that a strict and almost uninterrupted harmony has subsisted, from the period that Russia assumed her proper rank as a European power, espoused with warmth the interests of the House of Saxony: And protesting, by their respective ministers, against the election of Stanislaus as null and void, an army of Austrians was assembled on the frontiers of Silesia; and 50,000 Russians under General Laszi, actually entered Poland, on the side of Lithuania. Being quickly joined by a body of Saxons and Poles of the Electoral party, the Elector of Saxony was proclaimed King of Poland, by the Bishop of Cracow. King Stanislaus, finding himself wholly unable to resist so great a force, abandoned Warsaw to his rival, and retired to Dantzic, where he was pursued and closely besieged by the Russians and Saxons. This Prince, however, found means to escape, previous to the surrender of the city, which was followed by a general submission to the authority of Augustus, and a general amnesty was in return granted to the partizans of Stanislaus. Though the Court of Versailles

failles failed in their grand object in Poland, in order to be fully avenged upon the Emperor, who had been the principal obstacle to its accomplishment, and whose dominions lay much more open to attack than Russia, the Duke of Berwick received orders to pass the Rhine at the head of a numerous army in October, and Fort Kehl was in a short time compelled to capitulate. The winter months having passed over, he renewed his operations with great vigor. After the reduction of Traerbach, the Duke invested the important town of Philipsburg; and visiting the trenches was killed on the 12th June \* by a cannon-ball, leaving behind him an high reputation for valor and military skill. The French General had been opposed, during the whole of this campaign, by the celebrated Prince Eugene, now far advanced into the vale of years, in a state of languishment and infirmity, and retaining little resemblance of the hero of Bleinheim and Belgrade. Notwithstanding the loss sustained by the French in the death of their commander, Philipsburg was obliged, after a brave defence, to surrender, though upon the most honorable terms. During these transactions, the French King had concluded a treaty with Spain and Sardinia, in conformity to which, those powers declared war against the Emperor. And the Marechal Duc de Villars, the antient rival of Marlborough and Eugene, was prevailed upon to

take the command of the French army in Italy \* ; which, being joined by the forces of Savoy, expelled the Imperialists from the Milanese. He survived, however, but a short time the fatigues of the campaign, in which he fully sustained the glory of his name and nation, dying at Turin early in the ensuing spring, at the age of eighty. After the death of this great man, the command devolved upon the Marechal de Coigné ; between whom, and the Imperial Generals, the Count de Merçi and Marechal Konigseg, various fierce and bloody, but indecisive encounters, took place, into the particular narration of which it is not necessary to enter. Whilst the Austrians were thus driven from the Milanese, and with difficulty maintained their ground in the Mantuan, the Neapolitan nobility, irritated and oppressed under the government of the Count de Visconti, the Imperial Viceroy, joined in an invitation to Don Carlos, the Infant Duke of Parma, to attempt an invasion of that kingdom. He accordingly entered the Neapolitan

\* M. Voltaire tells us, that the Marechal de Villars, on being solicited to resume his military honors, and to place himself at the head of the army destined for Italy, repeated with energy and enthusiasm the following lines, from Racine's tragedy of *Bajazet* :

Quoi ! tu crois cher Osmin que ma gloire passée  
Flatte encore leur valeur & vit dans leur pensée !  
Tu crois qu'ils me suivroient encore avec plaisir  
Et qu'ils reconnoïtroient la voix de leur Vifir ?

territories at the head of a considerable army, and was received in the metropolis with loud acclamations, as the national deliverer. The Count de Visconti, having retreated into Apulia, was followed thither by the Spanish General, the Count de Montemar; who, attacking the Austrians at Bitonto, May 25, 1734, gained a most complete victory. Don Carlos, being now proclaimed and acknowledged King of Naples, immediately determined upon the reduction of Sicily: And the Count de Montemar, landing in that island in the month of August, proceeded with great rapidity in his conquests, the natives displaying every-where a disposition rather to assist than to oppose the progress of his arms; and on the arrival of Don Carlos in person, the Imperialists were compelled finally to evacuate the island. The Emperor, finding himself unable to cope with his adversaries, applied for succour in this emergency to his powerful ally, the Czarina, who immediately ordered a body of thirty thousand men to march to his assistance. But, before they could arrive at the scene of action, a general treaty of peace was concluded in the spring of 1735, nearly on the terms proposed by the maritime powers; and, agreeably to which, Naples and Sicily were yielded to the Infant Don Carlos; and Parma and Placentia, the patrimonial possessions of the Infant, were ceded to the House of Austria, to whom also the other conquests

conquests of the allies in Italy and Germany were restored. The reversion of the Grand Dutchy of Tuscany, now formally relinquished by Spain, was conferred as a fief of the Empire, at the demise of the Grand Duke, last of the illustrious House of Medicis, upon the Duke of Lorraine, who was destined for the future husband of the eldest Arch-dutcheſs Maria Thereſa, a princeſs diſtinguiſhed for her perſonal and mental accompliſhments; and ſole heiress, under the *Pragmatic Sanction*, of the vaſt dominions of the Houſe of Auſtria. The Elector of Saxony was acknowledged as King of Poland, and the Dutchy of Lorraine was ceded to Stanislaus, who was permitted to retain the title of King; and after the death of the titular monarch, to be for ever united to the Crown of France, which thus made, under the unambitious and pacific adminiſtration of Cardinal Fleury, an acquiſition of far greater importance and value than any which had reſulted from the moſt ſplendid ſucceſſes of Richelieu, Mazarine, or Louvois. The King of Sardinia was gratified by the ceſſion of ſome ſmall diſtricts of the Milanefe; which is ſaid to have been compared, by one of the anceſtors of this monarch, to an artichoke, which from its magnitude not being digeſtible at once, muſt be devoured leaf by leaf.

On reverting to the regular progreſſion of domeſtic events, we find the ſeſſion of 1734 diſtinguiſhed by a very vigorous effort to repeal the

Act for Septennial Parliaments—as a flagrant encroachment upon the rights of the people—as having a dangerous tendency to increase the influence of the Crown, and as being actually productive of very pernicious effects. The Minister having defied the opposition to adduce a single instance, in which the interests of the nation had been injured by the operation of this bill, or by any undue exercise of the royal prerogative as connected with it, Sir William Wyndham observed, “that it was reasonable and just to argue against the continuance of a bill of this nature; not merely from what had happened, but from what might happen. Let us suppose then (said he) a man of mean fortune and obscure origin, abandoned to all notions of virtue and honor, and pursuing no object but his own aggrandizement, raised by the caprice of fortune to the station of first Minister: Let us suppose him palpably deficient in the knowledge of the interests of his country; and, employing, in all transactions with foreign powers, men still more ignorant than himself: Let us suppose the honor of the nation tarnished, her political consequence lost, her commerce insulted, her merchants plundered, her seamen perishing in the depths of dungeons—and all these circumstances palliated or overlooked, lest his administration should be endangered: Suppose him possessed of immense wealth, the spoils of an  
improve-



impoverished nation; and suppose this wealth employed to purchase seats in the national senate, for his confidential friends and favorites.—In such a Parliament, suppose all attempts to inquire into his conduct, constantly over-ruled by a corrupt majority, who are rewarded for their treachery to the public by a profuse distribution of pensions, posts, and places under the Minister.—Let us suppose this Minister insolently domineering over all men of sense, figure, and fortune, in the nation; and having no virtuous principles of his own, ridiculing it in others, and endeavoring to destroy or contaminate it in all. With such a Minister, and such a Parliament, let us suppose a Prince upon the throne—uninformed, and unacquainted either with the interests or inclinations of his people—weak, capricious, and actuated at once by the passions of ambition and avarice: Should such a case ever occur, could any greater curse happen to a nation, than such a Prince, advised by such a Minister, and that Minister supported by such a Parliament. The existence of such a Prince, and such a Minister, no human laws may indeed be adequate to prevent; but the existence of such a Parliament may, and ought to be prevented; and the repeal of the law in question, I conceive to be a most obvious, necessary, and indispensable means for the accomplishment of that purpose.”

Notwithstanding the admiration excited by this

sudden burst of eloquence, and the ability with which the motion of repeal was supported, by various other speakers, it was negatived on the division, though not by the accustomed ministerial majority, the numbers being 247 against 184.

The Duke of Bolton and Lord Cobham being about this time arbitrarily divested of their military commissions, on account of their parliamentary opposition to the measures of the Court, a very dangerous—the more dangerous indeed, because a very plausible—motion was made by Lord Morpeth, eldest son of the Earl of Carlisle, for leave to bring in a bill for securing the constitution, by preventing the removal of officers not above the rank of Colonels, otherwise than by judgment of a Court Martial, or by an address of either House of Parliament. The Court, alarmed in the highest degree by this motion, exerted the whole force of ministerial ability and eloquence in the House of Commons, in order to defeat it. It was strongly urged, “that the great danger to be guarded against in all armies, is the raising them to a state of independency. The most important of all restraints on the military in this country, is the prerogative vested in the Crown, of displacing officers on suspicion, or even at pleasure. But should this power once be transferred to the army, a time may come, nor may the period be far distant, when the whole of our constitution shall be  
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at its mercy. At present the army itself depends upon the King and Parliament for its very duration and existence. But give the officers a permanent interest in their commissions, by the adoption of a measure which would convert them as it were into freeholds, and the King and Parliament would soon find themselves dependent upon the army. By this bill a door would be opened for the uncontrolled and uncontrollable commission of every species of military license and oppression. And should a reduction of the army at any future period be determined upon, is it to be imagined that these military chieftains, with swords in their hands, would contentedly lay them down, and retire to their respective homes, at the requisition of the civil power? No: They would exclaim, Where are our accusers? We are by law amenable to our own Courts Martial only, and to them alone will we submit. The Minister remarked, that the two noblemen lately removed, were succeeded by others—the Duke of Argyle and Lord Pembroke—in no respect inferior. And should the motion pass into a law, the government of England would have an irresistible tendency to a *Stratocracy*, or a military constitution. Supposing, said this sagacious statesman, the charges so often urged by the zealous partizans of this motion against a late celebrated General, to be well-founded—that he cherished views of ambition, contrary to the spirit of the Constitution—that he

aspired to perpetuate his authority, and to rise above all contrôl, by obtaining a commission constituting him General for life, how would the existence of a law, such as is now recommended, have facilitated the success of those daring projects? And how would such a motion have been received by the gentlemen who now urge it as equitable and wise, had it been brought forward under the auspices of the Duke of Marlborough? And what should induce us to believe that measure to be now beneficial, which would then have been universally reprobated as pernicious and unconstitutional?"

The question, being put, was carried in the negative, without a division. A far more reasonable and moderate motion was then made by Mr. Sandys, "for presenting an humble address to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to inform the House by whose advice it was that his Majesty was pleased to discharge his Grace Charles Duke of Bolton, and the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Cobham, from the regiments lately under their command, and what offences were alleged against them as the occasion of their dismissal."

All the arguments being now on the other side, the Minister contented himself with calling for the question; and on a division the motion was negatived, by a majority of 252 against 193.

The very same day on which Lord Morpeth made his famous motion in the House of Commons,

mons, the Duke of Marlborough presented a Bill of similar import to the House of Lords. The debate which ensued, was rendered memorable by the eloquent speeches of the Lords Chesterfield and Scarborough—the former in support, the latter in opposition to the Bill. These two noblemen, who ranked amongst the most distinguished ornaments of the English Court, had long maintained a mutual and inviolable friendship. To the accomplishments of the courtier, Lord Scarborough joined the ardour of patriotism and the enthusiasm of virtue. He might with propriety be regarded as the FALKLAND of the age—and the great qualities he possessed, were unfortunately clouded by the same dark tinge of melancholy. Such was his high sense of honor, that thinking it necessary to take a decided part in opposition to the Bill in question, he previously resigned his place of Master of the Horse, lest, by an injurious imputation, he should be supposed actuated by any interested motive. Not satisfied with the negative put upon the motion for the second reading of the Bill, he urged the rejection of it by the House, which was agreed to without a division\*.

In

- \* “When I confess there is who feels for fame,  
And melts to goodness, need I SCARBOROUGH name?”

POPE.

The character of this nobleman has been delineated by Lord Chesterfield, with the glowing pencil of sensibility and affection.

In the same session a very important Bill, which had at various times been proposed and rejected, was revived by Mr. Sandys, entitled, "a Bill for securing the freedom of Parliament, by limiting the number of officers, civil and military, in the House of Commons." In opposition to this Bill, the Minister contended, "that the constitution was already sufficiently secured, by the provision which orders a re-election when a member accepts

According to this *finished portrait*—confirmed indeed by the general voice of his contemporaries—Lord Scarborough possessed in the highest degree the air, manners, and address of a man of quality—politeness with ease, and dignity without pride. He had the advantage of a fine person; and when cheerful, the most engaging countenance imaginable. His knowledge, classical and historical, was very extensive; and it was accompanied with a just and delicate taste. In his common expenses he was liberal; but in his charities and bounties, his generosity was unlimited. In Parliament, though not an ambitious or florid speaker, truth and virtue, which never want and seldom wear ornaments, seemed only to borrow his voice. He was a true constitutional, and yet practicable patriot: A sincere lover, and a zealous assertor of the natural, the civil, and the religious rights of his country. Though bred in camps and courts, his moral character was so unfulfilled, that what a celebrated historian formerly said of Scipio, might, almost without any allowance for the imperfections of humanity, be applied to him: "Nil non laudandum, aut dixit, aut fecit, aut sensit."—"This small tribute of praise, says the noble writer, I owe to the memory of the best man I ever knew, and the dearest friend I ever had. If he had any enemies—for I protest I never knew one—they could only be such as were weary of always hearing of Aristides the Just."

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of a place; that to disable any gentleman or citizen from sitting in Parliament merely because he has the honor to serve the Crown, was really taking from the people their inherent right of chusing such representatives as they deemed best qualified to exercise the functions of their delegation; and that the State would be divided by it into factions, those acting under the executive power not coalescing with, but constituting a formidable phalanx against those who composed the legislative; and that it argued an hostile distrust of the Crown not compatible with the genius of the Constitution." The motion was, however, in itself plausible and popular, and it received additional weight from the near approach of a dissolution of Parliament, so that on the question of commitment it was negatived by a majority of 39 voices only in a House of 426 members.

Although a very large addition to the naval force of the nation had, in the early part of the session, been unanimously voted, on the 28th of March, a prorogation being now almost daily expected, a message was delivered by Sir Robert Walpole from the Crown, acknowledging the zeal and affection shewn by the Parliament, and desiring that his Majesty might be enabled, during the recess or interval of Parliaments, to make good such engagements with foreign powers as honor, justice, and prudence may call upon him to fulfil or contract, and such augmentation of his forces

forces by sea and land as might be necessary for the honor and defence of his kingdoms, and as the exigency of affairs may require, the war on the Continent still unhappily continuing." On this occasion all the patriotic ardor was again awakened, and the impolicy, the folly, and the danger of entrusting such dictatorial powers in the hands of the Monarch, were exposed with all the energy of truth and eloquence. Mr. Shippen in particular distinguished himself by a speech worthy of the English CATO. He said, "that when the address was moved in reply to his Majesty's speech at the commencement of the session, he had expressed his fears and suspicions, from certain expressions in both, that a vote of credit was in contemplation; but he had then been assured that there was not the least ground even to imagine so improbable a thing, although we were now told that, from his Majesty's manner of expressing himself upon that occasion, every gentleman in the House must have expected a demand of this nature---a demand for no less than a total surrender of all the rights of Parliament; for we are now called upon to give the King a power of raising what money he pleases, and also what military force he pleases, which are the rights on which all other rights depend; and all this without any necessity, or even any plausible reason alleged to us. Is invasion by a foreign enemy to be apprehended? Is any dangerous



ous domestic conspiracy discovered? No: The Right Honourable Gentleman himself says that he believes the nation to be in safety, but does not desire that its safety should depend on his belief. God forbid that it should; and happy would it be for us that it did not depend upon his administration. But this unlimited delegation of power is, it seems, designed to guard against new counsels, against any *sudden alteration* of measures. Surely, Sir, this is not meant to be seriously urged; for can this plea ever be wanting? Are we not in as great danger of sudden and alarming changes in a time of profound peace, as when the powers of Europe are engaged in a bloody war, and courting with eagerness our assistance, or at least our neutrality? If we now, therefore, agree to grant such powers, we may expect in future the demand regularly repeated, and never refused. Never can such requisitions on the part of the Crown be made with less color of necessity, never can compliance on our part be yielded more unconstitutionally. When not only an expiring session, but an expiring Parliament, grants such powers, how easily may they be extended, before the next Parliament is suffered to meet, beyond all possibility of controul! The precedents that have been adduced to justify the present demand are wholly inapplicable. In the year 1702 a vote of credit passed the House in consequence of a message from the late Queen; but  
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this message contained no such demand or requisition as the present. It simply stated the danger to which our allies, the States-General, were at that period exposed from France; and this danger was not only asserted, but proved by papers laid before the House: We were then ourselves actually engaged in a war, and it was not merely pretended that we might be eventually endangered by a change of counsels. Even in this situation the Queen was far from asking such powers as were now demanded. She did not in fact ask any thing, saying only in general terms, that she doubted not but the House would adopt such measures as would most conduce to the honor of her Crown, the safety of her kingdoms, and the support of her allies. On the other hand, the House were far from granting such powers as are now asked. The vote was restrained to a power of increasing the forces destined to act with those of the States-General, and limited by the condition that England should not be charged with the pay of such additional troops, but from the day that all commerce and correspondence between the subjects of the States, and those of France and Spain, should be totally prohibited. As to the message in the year 1715, it was sent to the House at a time of actual rebellion and expected invasion; and it was not granted at the termination of a session, and much less at the expiration of a Parliament. The message in 1719 was similarly

similarly circumstanced : The nation was in danger of being invaded, and would have been invaded, had it not been for the disasters which the Spanish fleet met with after leaving their ports. The last precedent of the year 1725, it must be allowed, approaches nearest to the present case. We then did as we are now desired to do—grant away millions in the dark without any cause or reason assigned ; but then this was a precedent of the Right Honourable Gentleman's own making, which may be thought perhaps somewhat to diminish its authority. The Right Honourable Gentleman has, however, improved upon his own precedent ; for the nation was not, at the period alluded to, in a state of absolute tranquillity, nor did the message ask for a discretion so unlimited as the present ; but merely for an indefinite power to add to the *naval* force, and to negotiate treaties. But if his Majesty is invested with the powers now demanded, nothing will remain for the Crown to ask but a Parliamentary resolve, empowering his Majesty to make, repeal, suspend, or alter, such laws, and in such manner, as he shall judge necessary for the public safety. And where indeed is the difference between granting this power at once, and putting the Crown in a capacity to assume it whenever it may chuse so to do ? Such complaisance as this must surely render us most despicable in his Majesty's eyes : He might justly say of us as the Roman Emperor

Emperor of the Roman Senate, “ *O homines servire paratos !*” But we are told that an account is to be rendered to the next Parliament of whatever may be done in pursuance of these powers: Sir, I have been so often deceived by ministerial promises, that I am ashamed ever to have placed any degree of faith in them. How often, when I and others have called for such accounts, have we been told that the matters were not ripe for laying them before Parliament, or that it would be dangerous to the State to reveal the secrets of government? and the highest satisfaction we could ever obtain was to be told that the expenses incurred were necessarily incurred for foreign and secret services. Whence that necessity arose was ever kept from the knowledge of Parliament: We had the word of the Minister to rest our faith upon; and the same implicit resignation will be required, doubtless, from every succeeding Parliament. When, at the termination of the session, we return to our several counties, and are requested to assign our reasons for this very extraordinary vote—a vote by which such vast additional burdens may be imposed on the nation—how satisfactory must it be to our constituents to be informed that, though we are at present in amity or actual alliance with all the powers of Europe, military preparations, by sea and land, must be made in order to guard against a variation of foreign counsels! Sir, in my opinion,

nion, the resolution now moved is neither necessary, nor safe, nor founded upon precedent. Precedents, indeed, there may be, which resemble it in a certain degree; but were they ever so numerous, and in all respects analogous, it would be no argument with me for agreeing to what is proposed. Whatever may have been the duration or extent of the practice, it is now high time to put a stop to it, and to establish a PRECEDENT OF REFUSAL; otherwise Parliaments will become wholly useless, or serve, by a sanction so pernicious, to make Ministers the more daring, and the oppressions of the people the more grievous."

In answer to this eloquent and patriotic speaker, Mr. Horace Walpole ventured to attempt a vindication of the measure, ~~thus~~ indignantly arraigned. He said, "that after all the pains taken to point out a dissimilarity between the case now under discussion and the precedents adduced in support of it, he could discern no material difference. It had been evidently the practice of Parliament, in times of danger, to grant extraordinary powers to the Crown, and in this particular way. For his part he acknowledged he thought the precedent of 1702 a bad one; because the Parliament discovered so much diffidence and distrust; and the ill effects of their slow and lukewarm proceedings ought to induce us to strengthen the hands of his Majesty at the present juncture. It was surprising, he said, to

him to hear it asserted by Gentlemen, that nothing had been laid before the House to shew the necessity of granting the powers now asked for. Did not his Majesty, in his speech at the opening of the session, inform us of the war then begun in Europe? Does he not by the present message acquaint us that the war still continues? And is not every gentleman convinced, by what he knows of the situation of Europe, that the balance of power in Europe entirely depends on the event of that war? Supposing either side to prevail too far, the balance of power must be overturned; and this nation will be under an obligation to interpose, in order to prevent so fatal an effect. Besides, does not every gentleman know that the French have lately fitted out a very powerful naval armament, which, with more probability, threatened Great Britain than any other place in the world, unless we excepted the city of Dantzic? He believed, indeed, he said, that it was designed against Dantzic; but if that affair should blow over, can we imagine ourselves in security, while so large a squadron lies within a few hours sail of the English coast? Our allies, the Dutch, he said, were in a very critical state: Their barrier in Flanders was in a very weak and defenceless condition, and if we should sit still and do nothing, they might be tempted to throw themselves entirely into the arms of France. They had not indeed, he acknowledged, done any thing as yet

yet themselves by way of augmentation of their forces, but then they had postponed that reduction of 10,000 men, which, previous to the war, they had meditated ; and they were now desirous to go hand in hand with us. Gentlemen, he said, might, if they pleased, call this a vote of credit ; but his Majesty having expressly promised an account of the expenditure, it was in his opinion only a vote of confidence, which, by shewing the entire reliance we place on the wisdom of his Majesty's measures, will give his instances with foreign powers that weight which is so necessary to the preservation of the balance of power in Europe, without which this nation can never be in any safety or security." The debate was unusually prolonged by a succession of very able speeches ; and Sir John Bernard particularly attracted the attention of the House, by declaring " that the assertions hazarded in royal speeches or messages were not to be implicitly depended upon, for that the Crown might assert, and in fact had asserted, in consequence of hasty or treacherous information, what afterwards proved not to be true. Parliament had, he said, been assured by a solemn speech from the throne, that an alliance had been entered into between the Emperor and Spain, in conformity to the secret articles of which, Gibraltar was to have been wrested from us, and the Pretender placed by force on the throne of Great Britain. Considering the situation and circumstances of the contracting powers at

that period, this intelligence appeared to many at the time romantic and incredible; and it was now known to be false, though it was then represented as highly disrespectful to the Crown, so much as to doubt it. We were now called upon, in a manner still more extraordinary, to give credit to a surmise of danger from France, which the Right Honorable Gentleman himself does not profess to believe; and in consequence of this groundless apprehension, to devolve for six months the whole power of Parliament upon the Crown—a demand which deserved to be treated with ridicule, and rejected with indignation.” Sir Robert Walpole immediately rose, and protested, “that while he had the honor to serve the Crown, he could not sit still and hear it so injuriously reflected upon. His late Majesty’s assertion, relative to the secret articles of the Treaty of Vienna, he said, was as true and as well-founded as any that ever came from the throne. It was indeed insolently contradicted by M. Palm, the Imperial Ambassador; but the King received his information from those who could not be deceived—and the Minister declared himself to be as certain that there were such articles, as if he had been present at the framing of them\* : And however indiscreet this declara-

\* Lord Townshend, Secretary of State at the period alluded to, made a similar declaration in the House of Peers; without, however, being able to remove the obstinate incredulity of a great part of his noble auditors.



tion might be thought in actual circumstances—he could not, in justice to the memory of the late King, say less.” In conclusion, the question being put, upon the motion for the address, it was carried in the affirmative, by 248 voices against 147—although Mr. Pulteney, who terminated the debate, had given it as his opinion, that “the message before the House was of a nature so extraordinary, and involved in it such culpability, that if the spirit of liberty—that spirit which brought about the Revolution, and established the present family upon the throne—was not absolutely extinguished in the nation, we might expect to see a future Parliament not only censure, but condemn and punish, those who have been the chief advisers of such a measure.” On the 16th April, the King put an end to the Session by a speech, in which he declared, that “he should think himself inexcusable if he parted with this Parliament, without doing them the justice to acknowledge the many signal proofs they had given, through the course of seven years, of their duty, fidelity, and attachment to his person and government, and their constant regard to the true interest of their country.” The Parliament having now sat nearly the full term prescribed by the septennial act, was dissolved, April 18, 1734, and a new Parliament immediately convoked by royal proclamation.

In the spring of this year, the marriage of the Princess Royal with the Prince of Orange was

celebrated with great magnificence and public rejoicings; and the Parliament, as a testimony of their entire approbation of this alliance, voted the sum of £ 80,000 as a portion to the Princess, and an annuity for life of £ 5000 payable out of the Civil List. His Serene Highness the Prince is thus favorably described, in a letter to Lord Townshend, Secretary of State, from the Earl of Chesterfield, Ambassador at the Hague: "The Prince of Orange has extreme good parts; is perfectly well-bred; with an ease and freedom that is seldom acquired, but by a long knowlege of the world. The acclamations of the people are loud and universal. He assumes not the least dignity, but has all the affability and insinuation that is necessary for a person who would raise himself in a popular government."

The new Parliament being convened in January 1735, quickly discovered a disposition to support, with zeal not inferior to that of their predecessors, the measures of the present administration. The King, in his speech, expressed "his concern at the present commotions on the Continent; and though he had hitherto resisted the pressing solicitations of the Court of Vienna for aid in this war, he hoped that his good subjects would not repine at the necessary means of placing him in a situation to act that part which might eventually be incumbent upon him." The House, in a grand Committee of Supply, voted, in consequence of this suggestion,

suggestion, near 60,000 men for the sea and land-service of the year; though not without the vehement opposition of the patriots, who demonstrated the folly of taking any part whatever, in these unintelligible and everlasting broils upon the Continent, upon pretence of which this alarming augmentation of our military force was founded: And Sir William Wyndham remarked, "that notwithstanding the long continuance of peace, such had been the exorbitant charges and expenses by subsidies and armaments, that the people had not been relieved from the burden of a single tax imposed during the preceding war."

A clause being inserted in the address, assuring his Majesty "that this House will cheerfully and effectually raise such supplies as shall be necessary for the honor and security of his Majesty and these kingdoms"—it was moved that the following words be added, "so soon as the proper information of the state of public affairs shall be communicated to this House, and in proportion to such efforts as shall be made by such of the allies who are under the same engagements as this nation, and who are not involved in the war." On the division the amendment was rejected, by 265 votes against 185—a minority plainly indicative of the reluctance of the House to engage as parties in the present war; in which it appears that England interfered so far, as to give extreme umbrage to

the Courts of Versailles and Madrid, though not far enough to render any real service to the Emperor, who had flattered himself with the hope of a revival of the grand alliance in his favor.

Mr. Horace Walpole was not discouraged, however, from almost immediately moving for a subsidy to Denmark, pursuant to a treaty entered into by his Majesty with the King of Denmark for that purpose; and which originated, according to the allegations of the mover, in a just and proper regard to the preservation of the *balance of power* in Europe \*—an expression so incessantly in the mouth of this Minister, that he was commonly known under the ludicrous appellation of *Balance-master*. The leaders of opposition treated the motion with indignant contempt. All the powers of Europe,

\* The secret history of this Danish subsidy has already been transiently alluded to.—It is a *mystery of State*, involved in too much obscurity and perplexity to be fully and completely developed. By this treaty, 80 crowns were allowed for each horseman, and 30 for every foot-soldier: One half to be paid immediately on signing the treaty, and the remainder when the troops shall be *delivered*. Besides this, his Majesty the King of Great Britain engages to pay to his Majesty the King of Denmark the annual sum of 250,000 crowns *danco*, till such time as the said troops shall be taken into full pay, and the sum of 150,000 crowns yearly afterwards. What a happiness for Britain, that the equipoise of the political balance, whenever disordered, may be so easily re-adjusted, by the judicious application of these golden weights! No less than 178 members of the House of Commons divided nevertheless against this so obviously wise and salutary measure.

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it was affirmed, were as much or more interested in the preservation of this *balance* as England: And should it ever be really endangered, they would certainly engage in its defence, without being hired to do so by British subsidies. But were England perpetually the first to take the alarm, and should this practise of subsidizing be established, every state would expect a gratification for doing what it would otherwise be obliged to do for its own preservation, and the whole charge of maintaining this balance would fall upon Great Britain. Even our allies the States-General might at last refuse to assist in trimming this balance, unless the Grand Pensionary of Holland were also to become the *Grand Pensionary* of England." The question being put, the motion was approved, and the subsidy granted by the House. The Session closing in May (1735), the King thanked his faithful Commons for the supplies they had granted with such cheerfulness and dispatch; and immediately after the prorogation, his Majesty embarked for the Continent, leaving the Queen, as usual, sole Regent during his absence.

For several years past, a strict amity had subsisted between the two Courts of Madrid and Lisbon, which was in the year 1728 cemented by a double marriage of the royal families—the Prince of Asturias espousing the eldest Princess of Portugal, and the Prince of Brazil the Infanta of

Spain, formerly affianced to Louis XV. King of France—the Courts meeting in a temporary edifice erected over the bed of the Coya, which divides the two kingdoms, where the Princesses were exchanged. In the course of this year, however, the good understanding between them was unhappily interrupted by a frivolous dispute, originating in a real or pretended violation of the privileges of the Ambassador of Portugal resident at Madrid. The quarrel ran so high, that the Ministers of the two Crowns were recalled, and warlike preparations made on each side. The King of Portugal, conscious of his inability to encounter the power of Spain, nominated Don Antonio D'Alzeveda as his Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court of London, to solicit the aid and protection of his ally the King of Great Britain. By the efficacious assistance of England had the independency of Portugal and the rights of the ducal and royal House of Braganza been ultimately established, after a contest of twenty-eight years: And as a just compensation for this great service, very important commercial privileges were conceded to the English nation by the Crown of Portugal; and thus the interests of that opulent but feeble kingdom became inseparably connected with those of Great Britain; and upon this potent alliance she chiefly depended, and still depends, for her existence as a distinct and sovereign power. Don Pedro,

Pedro, who succeeded to the throne on the deposition of his brother Alphonso, died A. D. 1706, after a reign of thirty years. His son, Don Juan, faithfully adhered to the political engagements entered into by his father as a party in the grand alliance against the House of Bourbon. But after the conclusion of the Treaty of Utrecht, the Court of Lisbon had cautiously avoided involving herself in the various contentions of the European powers. Upon the present occasion the Court of London adopted, without hesitation, measures the most vigorous and decisive. A powerful fleet, under the command of Sir John Norris, sailed for the Tagus, in order to protect the coasts and the commerce of Portugal; and particularly to convoy the Brazil fleet, then shortly expected richly laden, in safety to Lisbon. And Mr. Keene, the British Envoy at Madrid, was expressly commanded to communicate to his Catholic Majesty the resolution of the King of England to grant effectual succors to his ally. Notwithstanding some angry complaints on the part of Spain, of the partial conduct of England, this interposition completely answered the purpose intended by it; and an accommodation took place between the Courts of Spain and Portugal, before the conclusion of the year.

The succeeding Session of Parliament was distinguished chiefly by a motion made in the House of Commons, March 1736, for the repeal of those

clauses in the Test Act, which barred or obstructed the admission of *Protestant Dissenters* to civil employments. This motion, though ably supported, seems to have been somewhat unadvised and unseasonable—as being brought forward, not merely without the concurrence, but contrary to the inclination of the Court, and at a juncture in no respect favorable to its success. It is not, however, to be inferred, that the Court was really adverse to the purport of the motion abstractedly considered; but the Minister well knew the risque and obloquy which might attend his open and avowed support of this measure. He recollected, doubtless, that the utmost influence of the Crown had been unavailingly exerted in the late reign to procure the repeal of these clauses, when a Bill for that purpose was moved by the late Earl Stanhope. His popularity had lately sustained a rude shock, in consequence of the attempt made to extend and invigorate the operation of the laws of revenue: And he dreaded lest the cry of DANGER TO THE CHURCH, should produce effects still more detrimental to his credit and safety, than that which still vibrated in his ears, of LIBERTY, PROPERTY, AND NO EXCISE. Although he had, previously to the late election, flattered the Dissenters with the hope of relief, he thought proper, therefore, when the motion was actually made, to oppose the repeal, as in present circumstances inexpedient,



pedient, impolitic, and improper; in consequence of which it was rejected by a very great majority. The motion was, by a fruitless and injudicious perseverance, revived in a subsequent session of this Parliament, when it was again negatived by the same ministerial majority. It is remarkable, however, that no considerable or lasting resentment appears to have been excited in the breasts of the Dissenters in consequence of this disappointment: So well was it understood that the King was himself strongly disposed to favor the repeal, and that the Minister was actuated by motives, not of animosity, but of an urgent and over-ruling political necessity. It must not be omitted, that in this Session the Parliament repealed the antient statutes against conjuration and witchcraft, thereby relieving the English judicial code from a small part of that heavy load of trumpery, absurdity, and oppression, by which, in the worse than Egyptian darkness of past ages, it has been so unhappily and dreadfully disgraced.

About this time a new sect of religionists arose, distinguished by the appellation of *Methodists*, who soon appeared to be divided into two distinct classes, under their respective leaders, Whitfield and Wesley—priests of the English Church, regularly educated and ordained—the first of them adopting the Calvinistic, the latter the Arminian dogmas in theology; corresponding in this respect to the  
sects.

sects of Janfenists and Molinists, in the Gallican Church. Professing still to adhere to the communion of the Church of England, of which they boasted themselves to be the only true and genuine members, they yet indulged in the wildest flights and extravagancies of sectarian fanaticism—preaching in the fields to vast multitudes—suffering with patience every insult and outrage, and persisting, at the extreme peril of their lives, in those spiritual labors, to which they conceived themselves called by a sort of supernatural impulse\*. Many respectable persons were of opinion, that the Government ought in some mode to interfere in order to check these novel and dangerous ebullitions of enthusiasm. But to the honor of the Government, not only was the idea of persecution in every form rejected with abhorrence, but the protection of the law was extended to them upon all occasions. And the wisdom of maintaining inviolate

\* “God in the scripture,” says one of the leaders of this sect, in very elevated language, “commands me, according to my power, to instruct the ignorant, reform the wicked, and confirm the virtuous. A dispensation of the gospel is committed to me, and woe is me if I preach not the gospel. In whatever part of the world I am, I judge it meet, right, and my bounden duty, to declare unto all that are willing to hear the glad tidings of salvation. This is the work which I *know* God hath called me unto. And if it be his pleasure to throw down the walls of Jericho, not by the engines of war, but by the blasts of rams-horns; who shall say unto him, What dost thou?”—*Wesley's Works*.

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the grand principle of TOLERATION, has rarely appeared in a more striking point of view. In a few years the fanatical fervors characteristic of a new sect, not being irritated and inflamed by the opposition of the civil powers, gradually subsided. And though the number of proselytes was prodigious—part remaining in, and part seceding from the Established Church; no injury to the community has resulted from this diffusion of Methodist principles. On the contrary, the good effects of their moral and religious instructions, though still blended with much speculative absurdity and mysticism, are at this time apparent in the orderly and virtuous conduct of thousands in their communities, who would otherwise have been sunk in the depths of ignorance, vice, and barbarism. And truth and justice require the acknowledgement, that many, both of the clergy and laity, who now pass under the vague and popular denomination of Methodists, are persons of the highest worth, talents, and respectability.

The tranquillity which prevailed throughout the kingdom at this time, was unhappily interrupted by a tumult of a very singular nature, which took place in the city of Edinburgh, during the absence of the King. It happened that, at the execution of a man, convicted under circumstances of peculiar hardship, by trial in the Court of Admiralty, as a smuggler, the military guard which attended  
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were grossly insulted by the populace ; in revenge of which, Captain Porteous, the Commandant, was provoked to order the soldiers to fire upon the people, without the previous sanction of the magistrate. In consequence of this rash and precipitate order, several innocent persons suffering the loss of their lives, Porteous was tried for murder, convicted, and received sentence of death ; but the Queen, as Regent, thought fit to grant him a reprieve. The populace of Edinburgh, nevertheless, exasperated in the highest degree at the conduct of this officer, who was well known to be a man of abandoned morals, determined that he should not escape punishment : And on the very evening of the day on which, according to his sentence, he was destined to suffer, the prison of the Tolbooth was forced with such order and deliberate resolution, as afforded a strong presumption that it was the result of a plot formed by persons far above the rank of those usually concerned in similar outrages. Leaving the delinquent suspended by the neck from a dyer's pole, they quickly and quietly dispersed ; nor was it ever discovered who were the perpetrators of this daring act of violence, notwithstanding a reward of £ 200 was offered by proclamation for such detection. The Government, inflamed with resentment at this atrocious violation of the laws, instituted a parliamentary inquiry into the circumstances

stances of this extraordinary affair; in the course of which three Scottish judges in their robes were examined as witnesses, at the bar of the House of Lords. And though it did not appear that the magistrates had been anywise deficient in their duty upon this occasion, a Bill was brought in for disabling the Lord Provost of Edinburgh from holding any office of magistracy in Great Britain—for abolishing the guard of that city, and for taking away the gates of the Nether-bow-port, which during this transaction had been shut, in order to prevent the troops quartered in the suburbs from entering the city. This Bill was opposed by almost all the Scottish representatives, and many other respectable members of both Houses, with great vehemence: And the Duke of Argyle, in particular, arguing against the principle of it, said, that “he could not think of a measure more harsh or unprecedented than the present Bill; and he believed there was no instance of the whole weight of parliamentary indignation falling upon any individual, and far less upon any community, for crimes that were within the reach of the inferior Courts of Justice—that should the present Bill pass into a law, the Lord Provost and citizens of Edinburgh would suffer by a cruel, unjust, and fantastical proceeding—a proceeding of which the worst use might be made, if ever the nation should have the misfortune to fall under a vindictive, arbitrary,  
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and tyrannical administration"—an observation which subsequent events forcibly recalled to public recollection. Notwithstanding all opposition, the Bill passed, and was carried into rigorous execution, to the great and inexpressible indignation of the whole Scottish nation. And this rash and passionate attempt to vindicate the honor of the Crown by insulting the majesty and wounding the feelings of the people, afforded a new proof of the truth and justice of the observation of the celebrated Chancellor Oxenstierne, "that it is wonderful by how small a portion of wisdom the world is governed." In the stead of these impolitic measures of revenge and degradation, it would have given pleasure to every liberal mind, had occasion been taken from this incident, supposing it to indicate any want of energy in the executive power, to restore to Scotland those distinctions of national honor and authority of which that kingdom had been unnecessarily and invidiously divested by the Treaty of Union. There appears no just reason why Scotland should not have its own resident great Officers of State, why its Privy Council should be annihilated, why the High Commissioner of the Crown should not, as in the times preceding the Union, be enabled to support his elevated rank and station in a manner suitable to the national dignity, and why the royal palace of the Kings of Scotland should be suffered to exhibit a  
picture

picture of melancholy and decay, scarcely to be distinguished from the ruins of BALCLUTHA. "I have seen, says the antient bard of Caledonia, the walls of Balclutha, but they were desolate. The fire had refounded in the halls, but the voice of the people is heard no more. The stream of Clutha was removed from its place by the fall of the walls. The thistle shook there its lonely head; the moss whistled to the wind. The fox looked out from the windows; the rank grass of the wall waved round his head. Desolate is the dwelling of Moina; silence is in the house of her fathers."

In April 1736, the marriage of the Prince of Wales, who was considered as the determined enemy of the Minister, and the head of the opposition, with Augusta Princess of Saxe-Gotha, was celebrated; and in the course of the ensuing Session, a motion was made by Mr. Pulteney, and seconded by Sir John Barnard, for an address to the King, that he would be pleased to settle £100,000 *per ann.* out of the Civil List revenues upon the Prince \*. This was violently opposed by the courtiers,

\* The Prince of Wales highly resented, and with great apparent reason, that out of a Civil List of £800,000, a revenue of £50,000 *per ann.* only should be allotted to him, although his father, when Prince, had £100,000 out of a Civil List of £700,000—nor does the sum required by the Prince appear more than adequate to the superiority of his rank and station.

courtiers, as an encroachment upon the King's prerogative, and it was finally negatived, by a majority of 30 voices, the numbers being 234 to 204, though not without producing an entire alienation between the two Courts of St. James's and Leicester House; and the Prince was not even permitted, in the last illness of the Queen, who expired November 1737, much esteemed and lamented by the English nation, to implore her forgiveness or to receive her departing benediction.

At this period, a war broke out between the Russian and Ottoman empires, occasioned, as was pretended, by certain incursions of the Tartar tribes into the Russian territories: But in reality by the ambitious and eager desire of the Court of Petersburg to regain possession of the important maritime city of Asoph, which was one of the

As this resolution of the Prince embarrassed many who held places under the Government, and were at the same time desirous to keep on fair terms with the successor, he was advised by Mr. Doddington, afterwards Lord Melcombe, whom he admitted into his confidence, to apply to Parliament for an *additional grant* of £50,000 per ann.; but the Prince replied, with a generosity truly noble, "THAT THE NATION HAD DONE ENOUGH FOR HIS FAMILY ALREADY, AND THAT HE WOULD RATHER BEG HIS BREAD FROM DOOR TO DOOR, THAN BE A FARTHER CHARGE TO THEM." Many of the Tories, regarding the motion as dangerously democratic, left the House in a body previous to the division, though Sir William Wyndham had taken upon him to answer to the Prince for their concurrence.

earliest



earliest acquisitions of the Emperor Peter the Great, but which that monarch was afterwards compelled to sacrifice, in order to extricate himself from the perilous extremity to which, in his last war with Turkey, he found himself reduced, on the banks of the Pruth. Asoph was accordingly besieged and taken; and when satisfaction and reparation were offered by the Porte, for the injuries sustained by Russia, the Czarina declared her resolution not to relinquish her conquest. And the Emperor of Germany, being under obligation by treaty to assist the Russians, became in a short time a principal in the war, which proved to him only a series of disasters. A peace was at length obtained at the expense of Orsova, Belgrade, and the entire province or kingdom of Servia, which were ceded by the Emperor to the Turks. The Russians, who had, under the conduct of the famous Marechal Munich, made great progress in the reduction of the provinces north of the Danube, on their part restored Oczakow, Choczim, and Bender, and the possession of Asoph was confirmed to them by the Porte.

In the Session of Parliament, held A. D. 1737, a motion being made for the continuance of the same number of land-forces as had been voted the preceding year, a vehement debate arose. For though in our own more courtly days, a much larger number is annually voted almost as a matter of course, it was considered as one of the most

important and most laudable objects of patriotism in these times to procure, if not an abolition, at least a reduction of a military force, detested and deprecated as useless, expensive, and dangerous. In vindication of the motion, the ministry scrupled not to affirm, "that if the army was disbanded, the *Tory interest* would quickly predominate—that the kingdom was filled with clamor and discontent, which a standing military force only could effectually repress—that the support of the *Whig interest* demanded the maintenance of this force; and it was hoped and presumed that the House would vote triple the number, if adjudged necessary for this purpose." The members of the opposition replied, in their accustomed strain of *vain reasoning*, "that this vindication contained in it a sentence of self-condemnation—for to what cause could the spirit of clamor and discontent be ascribed, but to the misconduct of the ministry? and it was from their own acknowledgement clear, that what they were pleased to style the Whig interest, was in fact an inconsiderable party which had engrossed the power of Government by indirect and unconstitutional methods—which acted contrary to the sense of the nation, and which depended for support upon that very military force which was the grand source of the national discontent, which perpetuated the national taxes, and which menaced the national liberties with destruc-

destruction. The claim of the ministry and their adherents in the House to the appellation of Whigs, was warmly disputed; and Sir John Hynde Cotton declared, “ that a genuine Whig could never vote for a standing army in time of peace. Whigs, said this member, who are true to their principles, will oppose all unlimited votes of credit—will deprecate the corruption of the legislative power, as the greatest curse that can befall a nation—they will esteem the liberty of the press to be the most invaluable privilege of a free people; and frequent Parliaments to be the grand bulwark of their liberties. A Whig administration would never suffer injuries done to the British commerce to pass unnoticed, or insults offered to the British flag to pass unrevenged.” It is remarkable, that Sir John Hynde Cotton was himself educated in Tory principles, and was in early life closely connected with the principal leaders of that once formidable faction. But the panegyric now pronounced upon Whig principles, clearly and infallibly indicated, that the proper and peculiar tenets of Toryism—passive obedience, non-resistance, and the indefeasible rights of royalty—were now fallen into contempt. The Tories were insensibly led, in the course of their opposition to the erroneous and unconstitutional measures of government, to adopt consistent and rational principles. The very name of TORY began to be considered as a term of

reproach, and as such was, in this debate, resented and repelled. Still, however, in a certain sense, Whiggism and Toryism have never ceased, and will never cease to subsist. Whatever tends to enlarge the power of princes or of magistrates beyond the precise line or limit of the general good, whatever imposes oppressive or even superfluous restraints upon the liberty of the people, or introduces any species of civil inequality, not founded on the basis of public utility, is of the essence of Toryism. On the other hand, genuine Whiggism is nothing more than good temper and good sense, or, to adopt higher and more appropriate terms of expression, benevolence and wisdom applied to the science of Government.

The theatre in the metropolis of Britain having been recently, in various instances, abused, as in antient times at Athens, to the purposes of personal and political satire, a bill was at this period introduced for the prevention of this great and growing evil, agreeably to the provisions of which, no new dramatic pieces could be exhibited without the express license first obtained of the Lord Chamberlain. This Bill passed through both Houses with little opposition, excepting that which it met with from the Earl of Chesterfield, who combated the principle of it with much animation and eloquence. His Lordship declared, “ that he regarded this measure as of a very extraordinary  
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and dangerous nature, as a restraint not on the licentiousness merely, but on the liberty of the stage, and as tending to a still more dangerous restraint on the liberty of the press, which was intimately and inseparably connected with the general liberty of the subject. He affirmed the laws, as they at present stood, to be sufficient for the purpose of punishing seditious or immoral performances. The best, and indeed the only, mode of avoiding public ridicule and censure was, he said, to avoid ridiculous and vicious actions; for the people will neither ridicule those they love and esteem, nor suffer them to be ridiculed. An administration destitute of esteem or respect among the people will be censured and ridiculed, nor will the severest edicts be found of force to prevent it. If we agree to the Bill now before us, what shadow of excuse can be suggested for refusing to proceed a step farther, and to extend the prohibition to printing and publishing those dramas which are deemed unfit for public exhibition? Still political satires will appear under the title of Novels, Secret History, Dialogues, &c.; but will you allow, my Lords, a libel to be printed and dispersed only because it does not bear the title of a play? Thus, from the precedent before us, we shall be gradually prevailed upon to revive a general IMPRIMATUR, and then adieu to the liberties of Great Britain. I admit, my Lords, that the stage ought

not to meddle with politics, but for this very reason among others I object to the Bill before us ; for I fear it will be the occasion of its meddling with nothing else—it will be made subservient to the politics of the Court only. This we know was actually the case in King Charles the Second's days ; we know that Dryden, the Poet Laureat of that reign, made his wit and genius thus subservient to the designs of the Court. When the second Dutch war was in contemplation, he wrote his " Amboyna," in which he represents the people of Holland as avaricious, cruel, and ungrateful. When the Exclusion Bill was moved for, he wrote his " Duke of Guise," in which those who were zealous for preserving and securing the liberties and religion of their country, were exposed as a faction leagued together for the purpose of excluding a virtuous and heroic Prince from that throne which was his lawful right, on account of his adopting a faith different from their own. The peculiar province of the stage, my Lords, is, to expose those vices and follies which the laws cannot lay hold of ; but under the restraint of an arbitrary Court license, it will be entirely perverted from its proper use. To a man bred in the habits of a Court, that may appear to be a libel against the Court which is only a just and salutary satire upon its vices and follies. Courtiers, my Lords, are too polite to reprove one another ; the only place

place where they can meet with any just rebuke is a free, though not a licentious stage. But by this Bill, instead of leaving it what it now is, and always ought to be—a scourge for fashionable vices—it will be converted into a channel for propagating them throughout the kingdom. Let us consider, my Lords, that arbitrary power has seldom or never been introduced into any country but by slow degrees, step by step, lest the people should perceive its approach. When the preparatory steps are made, the people may then indeed see slavery and arbitrary power making huge and hideous strides over the land, when it is too late to avert the impending ruin. The Bill before us I consider as a step very necessary to this purpose; and should such design ever be formed by any ambitious King or guilty Minister, he would have reason to thank us for having so far facilitated his attempt; though such thanks, I am convinced, every one of your Lordships would blush to receive, and scorn to deserve.” The ill effects, apprehended by this generous and patriotic nobleman, have not, however, been as yet very apparent: And it must be acknowledged that, in a very few instances only, does the invidious discretion, vested by this Bill in the Lord Chamberlain, seem to have been capriciously or improperly exercised\*.

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\* The GUSTAVUS VASA of Brooke, the MUSTAPHA of Mallet, and the EDWARD and ELEONORA of Thomson, were

In the course of the same session the House of Commons having resolved itself into a grand committee

in the number of the Dramas rejected under the authority of this act. The first of these performances is animated throughout by a noble and enthusiastic spirit of liberty; but the writer protests in his prefatory remarks, "that he had nothing to fear or hope from party or preferment—his attachments were only to truth; that he was conscious of no other principles, and was far from apprehending that such could be offensive." There were, however, some passages in this Tragedy which could not fail to be invidiously applied, if they could be supposed not invidiously designed. A specimen or two may suffice:

"Are ye not mark'd, ye men of Dalecarlia,  
Are ye not mark'd by all the circling world?  
—Say, is not Liberty the thirst, the food,  
The scope and bright ambition of your souls?  
Why else have you and your renown'd forefathers,  
From the proud summit of their glittering thrones,  
Cast down the mightiest of your lawful Kings  
That dar'd the bold infringement? What but Liberty,  
Thro' the fam'd course of thirteen hundred years,  
Aloof hath held invasion from your hills,  
And sanctified their shade? And will ye, will ye  
Shrink from the hopes of the expecting world?  
Bid your high honors stoop to FOREIGN INSULT?  
And in one hour give up to infamy  
The harvest of a thousand years of glory?

"Where is that power whose engines are of force  
To bend the brave and virtuous man to slavery?  
Base fear, the laziness of lust, gross appetites,  
These are the ladders and the groveling footstool  
From whence the tyrant rises on our wrongs.

Secure,



mittee to take into consideration the state of the national debt, Sir John Barnard, Member for the City of London, a man whose patriotism was dignified by the extent of his knowledge, the soundness of his understanding, and the benevolence of his heart, moved for a bill to enable his Majesty to raise money either by the sale of annuities, or by borrowing at an interest not exceeding *3 per cent.*, which sum so raised should be applied towards the redemption of the South-Sea Annuities, allowing the preference of subscription to the annuitants. Sir John Barnard remarked, "that even those public securities which bore an interest of *3 per cent.* only, were now considerably above *par*; therefore there could be no room to doubt that the subscription would immediately fill, were it a condition of the contract that the principal should be made irredeemable for the term of fourteen years. When the South-Sea Annuitants were thus reduced, the same plan might be adopted for redeeming the capital of the other trading Companies, and, in time, of the whole public debt, without any violation of the public faith; that, by this means, the Sinking Fund would be so much increased, that in a few years the Parliament would be able to annihilate

Secure, and scepter'd in the soul's servility,  
 He has debauch'd the Genius of our country,  
 And rides triumphant, while her captive sons  
 Await his nod—the filken slaves of pleasure."

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those taxes which lay heaviest upon the laboring and manufacturing poor, and that the remaining part of it, if faithfully applied, would, in a short time, free the nation from all incumbrances."

By this motion, at once so popular, feasible, and beneficial, the Minister seemed much embarrassed, and it was clearly discernible that the Executive Government entertained no real wish or intention that the public debt, which so materially added both to its influence, and its security, should ever be liquidated. In order, therefore, to counteract the effect of a motion, which it would have been too hazardous openly and directly to oppose, Mr. Winnington, a zealous partizan of the Minister, moved that all the public creditors, as well as the South-Sea Annuitants, should be comprehended. To this Sir John Barnard objected "that it might be easy for the Government to borrow money at 3 *per cent.* sufficient for the redemption of a certain proportion of the public debt, though it might be extremely difficult, or even impracticable, to borrow money enough at once to liquidate the whole, amounting at this time to almost forty-eight millions." A bill was, however, ordered in upon the basis of Mr. Winnington's proposition, which, being in the sequel warmly attacked, and faintly defended, was finally postponed to a distant day by motion of the Minister; though there is great reason to believe, from the success of a similar and more recent attempt, that the patriots in opposition

position formed an erroneous judgment respecting the difficulties attending its execution \*.

In recording the transactions of the succeeding year (1738), it is unfortunately necessary to notice the

\* In the month of January (1737) died Dr. William Wake, who had filled the metropolitan See of Canterbury twenty-one years. Previous to his elevation to that high dignity, he had very honorably distinguished himself by the liberality of his sentiments, and the vigor of his exertions both in Convocation and in Parliament, particularly in his contest with Atterbury on the nature and extent of ecclesiastical authority; and in a most conspicuous manner at the ever-memorable trial of Sacheverel. As one of the ablest and firmest champions of the LOW CHURCH-PARTY he was advanced, on the death of Dr. Tennison, A. D. 1716, to the Archiepiscopal chair; but he soon made it visible that "LOWLINESS is young Ambition's ladder;" and when he had "attained the topmost round," he adopted, like his famous predecessor Becket, a totally new system of principles and conduct. By the vehemence and pertinacity of his opposition, he essentially impeded on all occasions the meritorious endeavours of the Court for the advancement, and security, of the general system of civil and religious liberty. And in a more especial manner he labored to counteract the grand effort made by that generous and beneficent statesman, Lord Stanhope, under the auspices of the late King, for the annihilation of those odious distinctions which divided, and which continue to divide, the nation, and to perpetuate the animosities of contending factions. Dr. Wake was succeeded by Dr. Potter, translated from the See of Oxford—a man morose in disposition, and in deportment haughty; but of extensive learning and exemplary morals. After filling the metropolitan throne ten years, this prelate was succeeded by Dr. Herring, Archbishop of York, of whom it is difficult to be too profuse in the praise. Placed at the head of the  
national

the violent misunderstanding which arose between the Regency of Hanover and the King of Denmark, respecting the petty Lordship of Steinhorst, the revenue of which scarcely exceeded one thousand pounds sterling *per annum*. The Castle of Steinhorst, garrisoned by a slight detachment of Danish dragoons, was carried by assault, and the King of Denmark made great warlike preparations in order to revenge this affront, which most assuredly would never have been offered, had not Hanover depended upon the aid and protection of England. And the King of Denmark, conscious of his inability to cope with Hanover, *and her ALLY*, had the address to convert this incident to his own advantage, by concluding a convention with the King of England, agreeably to which he engaged to *hold in readiness* a body of 6000 men for the service of Great Britain. In return, Denmark, in addition to the stated pay of these troops, was to receive a subsidy of 250,000 crowns *per ann.*; *and the Lordship of Steinhorst was ceded to Hanover*. When the Duke of Newcastle produced this treaty in the succeeding Session for parliamentary ratification,

national communion, he appeared scarcely less pre-eminent in dignity of character, than of station; and the various excellencies ascribed by the poet to various contemporary ornaments of the Episcopal bench were in him happily consolidated :

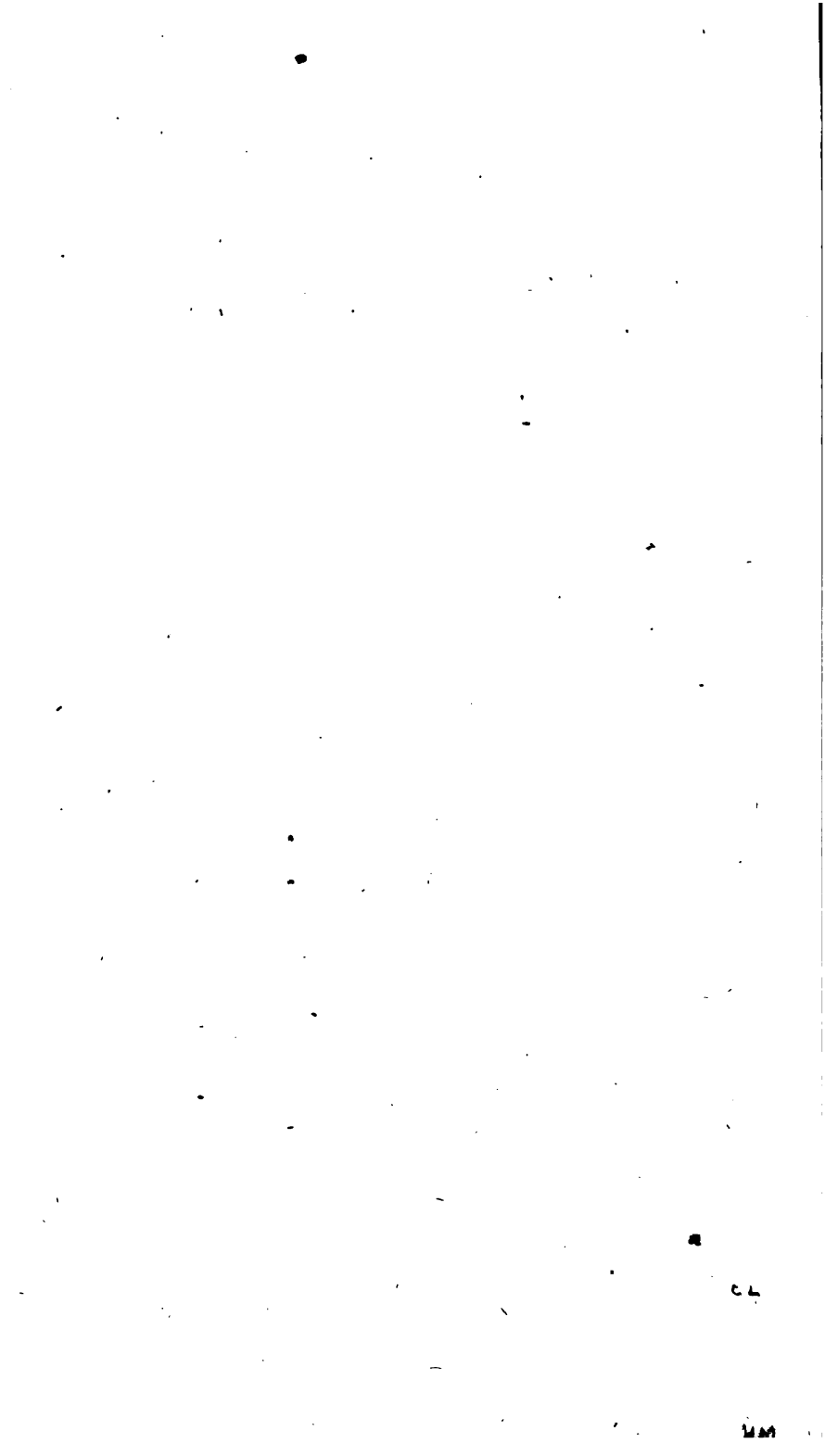
“ Secker is decent, Rundle has a heart,  
Manners with candour are to Benson given,  
To Berkely every virtue under heaven.”

POPE.  
Lord

Lord Carteret earnestly requested to be informed what use was intended to be made of these troops, as it was expressly stipulated by the articles of the treaty, that they should neither be employed on board the fleet, or be transported in whole or in part beyond sea, or serve against France or Spain, except in Germany or Flanders. His Grace, however, *not being at liberty to divulge* THE KING'S SECRETS, the subsidy was granted, and at the same time, in consequence of a message from the throne, stating the exigency of public affairs, a vote of credit conformable to a similar resolution of the Commons, passed the House, notwithstanding the animated remonstrances of Lord Carteret, who declared that nothing could be more dangerous to the Constitution than this practice, which was but of modern date in England; it was never heard of before the Revolution, and but rarely till the nation was blessed with the present administration. Such a demand, he said, our ancestors would have heard with amazement, and rejected with scorn. If a general and unlimited vote of credit and confidence, his Lordship affirmed, were to become a customary compliment at the end of every Session, Parliaments would grow despicable in the eyes of the people; and it might be depended upon as an infallible consequence, that when Parliaments were once perceived to be useless and servile, they would, by a rapid gradation, become arbitrary and tyrannical.

















JUL 16 1940

